

HUGO GROTIUS,
HIS MOST CHOICE
DISCOURSES,

Out of that excellent Treatise

De veritate Religionis Christianae.

I. Of GOD, and His Providence.

II. Of CHRIST, His Miracles,
and Doctrine. With Annotations,
and the Authors Life.

III. For the Authority of the Scripture.

IV. His Judgement in sundry points
controverted, contained in his
Vote for the Churches Peace.

V. An Epistle Consolatory.

Translated out of the Latin,
By *Cl. Barksdale.*

The fourth Edition, Corrected. Whereunto
is added his Discourse for the Authority
of the Scripture, not in English till now.

Nec omnia, nec nihil.

L O N D O N, Printed by S. G. and B. G. for
William Lee, formerly dwelling at the
Turks-head in Fleetstreet, And now living
next to the *Kings-head* Tavern in Chan-
cery-Lane, near Fleetstreet, 1669.



See you not Learning in his Looks?
See it more lively in his Books.

The Copy Sculptor

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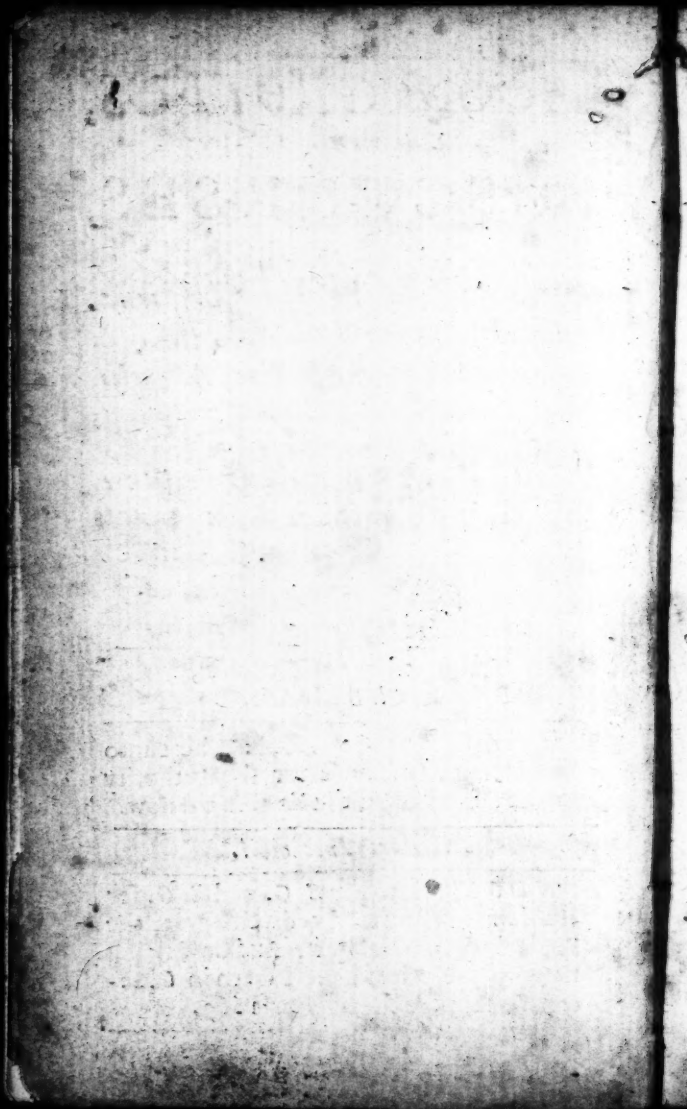
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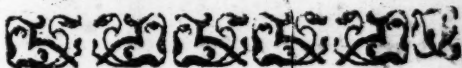
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230

English

G51h4



To his Honoured Friend,
Tho. Williams of the Middle
 Temple Esquire.

Worthy Sir,

I Present unto you the two principal Discourses, of the six which my Author wrote in defence of Christian Religion. Having read what was afore written by others, He chose rather to use his own judgement in composing a new Treatise (preserving the liberty of his mind, as himself speaketh, when his body was under restraint) than to bestow his pains in translating what was formerly done by Mornay, Vives, and others. For although they have

A 3

pleaded

520222

pleaded the Cause of Religion, with
very much learning and eloquence,
yet my Authors opinion was, that
Truth is to be maintained only with
Truth, and such Truth as himself
acknowledged. For in vain shou'd
he endeavour to beget in other men
a belief of those things which him-
self did not believe. Wherefore he
hath chosen both out of the old and
new Writers, what was most pro-
bable to Him; not alledging Argu-
ments which he judged of no weight,
nor the Authority of Books which he
either certainly knew, or justly sus-
pected to be supposititious. The Argu-
ments of most value, being sele-
cted, and at first expressed in Dutch
verse (for the use especially of the Low-
Country Sea-men and Merchants, that
trade with infidels,) the Author af-
terward adorned with his excellent Ro-
man stile, and dedicated to Monsieur
Bignon, the French Advocate. The
Tran-

Translator, hoping he hath not wronged
the Authors sense by his English, de-
cateth it to you, praying that you (and all
Advocates in your noble Societies) may
even rightly judge of, and sincerely love
the Christian Religion, and lawfu' Mi-
nisters thereof: and that You, dear Sir,
may live many prosperous years, the
Ornament and the Muniment of your
vertuous and numerous Family. To all,
which in You, I gladly take this op-
portunity of shewing publickly the
grateful Mind of

Your faithful
Servant.

From Hawling on
New-years Eve,
1651.

Cl. Barksdale.



THE LIFE

O F

Hugo Grotius.

HE that hath surveyed
with a judicious eye,
the various and choice
Learning contained in
this and others of this Renowned
Authors Books, cannot but desire
to know more of the Author
than what the Title shews, viz.
That he was the Illustrious *Hugo*
Grotius. Men are naturally apt to
enquire (as the writer of Mr.
Medes

Hugo Grotius.

Medes Life observes) and to know as much as they can of the person whose Actions or Writings have any way drawn their attention, Who is this Man that hath written such things? To write the Life of this Man perfectly were an Enterprize for one more versed both in Books and Men: For me it will be enough to collect out of the Authors own Writings, (and indeed to describe *Grotius* who is so able as *Grotius*?) and some of his friends, what may (in some sort) represent so excellent a person to any Readers view, and conduce to the perpetuating of his happy Memory amongst us English men, to whom he bare special affection. And first we will represent that summary of his first years which we find in *Meursius* his *Athenæ Batavæ* to this effect following, viz. *Hugo*

A. 5

Grotius

The Life of

Natus, Anno
1583.

Grotius was born at *Delf* in *Holland* 4. Id. April, Anno Dom. 1583. He was of an Antient and Noble House, His Grandfather (of the same name) was Learned above the model of those darker times, and well skilled in the three principal Languages, *Latine, Greek, and Helrew*, His Uncle *Cornelius Grotius* was Professor of the Civil Law at *Leyden* where he flourished in the good esteem and favour of the best Men: his Father was *Johannes Grotius* Curator of that University, whose Poems are extant with *Lypsius's* Letters to him and *Doussa's* verses, whose name also hath adorned many learned mens Books dedicated to him, being blessed with this hopeful Son he used all pains and care in his good education, and cherished this great wit so well that when he was but eight years

Hugo Grotius.

years old, viz. *Anno* 1591. he did *An. 1591.*
Fundere versus i. e. make verses
ex tempore and disputed twice pub-
lickly in questions of Philosophy
Anno 1598. *etat. suæ* 15. He tra- *An. 1598.*
velled into *France* in the train of
that incomparable Person *Johannes*
Olden Barneveldius Embassadour
from the States of *Holland* to *Hen-*
ry the Great, and returned hono-
red with Royal bounty, and the
friendship of illustrious men, ha-
ving before that time begun to set
forth notes upon the seven Liberal
Arts of *Martianus Capella*, when
he had after studyed some years at *An. 1599.*
Leyden (much endeared unto *Sca-*
liger) his Father fearing the young
Schollars mind should by the a-
menity and delight of humane
Literature and Poesy be drawn a-
way from more profitable employ-
ment, He was taken off and ascri-
bed amongst the advocates at the
Hague

The Life of

Hague, Anno 1599. and soon after pleaded causes, yet did not he addict himself so much to that profession but that his *Genius* led him back and made him often revisit his former Studies of Humanity for which he was most dear to the then French Ambassador *Buranvel* to *Janus Doussa* the Father, and many others, persons of Honour, about this time the States of *Holland* began to use his service in penning the History of the most famous war in the whole world. afterwards Ann. 1670 Commended by the suffrages of the Courts, nominated by the States, and elected by the most potent Prince (the Admiral of all other Princes) *Grave Maurice*, He became *Fisci Advocatus* i. e. Advocate of the Treasury, and behaved himself so well in that most weighty Office, that he received from his Superiours

An. 1670.

Hugo Grotius.

Superiours a molt ample testimony of his diligence and integrity therein, here perceiving the trade into *India* of great importance to his Country, that he might stir up the spirits of his Countrey-men, thereto, he wrote a Book *de jure Commercii Indici*, Again observing, after truce with the *Spaniard*, the peace of the Commonwealth began to be disturbed by certain dangerous Innovators (judging it to be the duty of a good Patriot to oppose himself against their designs, and to commend unto all the present State.) He set out a dissertation entituled *de antiquitate Reipublice Batavicae*. After the death of *Eleas Olden Barneveldin* (a man not less Noble for his good parts than his Family) *Grotius* suffered himself to be chosen into his place, Syndic of *Rotterdam*, and so was advanced from

The Life of

from the Bar to the Bench. And then he was sent into *Great Britain* to accommodate the difference about the *Indian Trade*, whence he was dismiss'd not without eminent marks of favour from the King of Learning and Religion, and from the most Learned and pious men of that Island, together with the most pleasing fruit of his journey, that he there had found the *Great Isaac Causabon* whom he revered before at a distance and had now enjoyed, a more intimate and familiar Conversation with him. About that time the Church being very sick of the Controversies of Predestination, and of the contention of some Pastors with the Magistrates about the right of Church Government, insomuch that the States of *Holland* were contumeliously reproached: Our Author thought it his duty to vindicate

cate

Hugo Grotius.

cate the right of the State, and offer his medicines for the cure of those distempers, and show the way to Peace, in those and other differences that disturb the Christian world.

Thus far out of *Athene Batava*, a book containing the lives of the most Eminent Professors, and Learned men, that have flourished in that University, and much tending to the honor thereof. Wherefore it may be a good precedent, for our two famous Universities, and for *London* (that perhaps may not be improperly be stiled a third) to stirr them up to doe the like, for *England* hath in this last age produced men perhaps as worthy as any other though not so much known abroad.

Here I shall insert that Ellogie of our *Grotius*, which I received
from

The Life of

Mr. M. T.
Chaplain
to the then
English
Embassa-
dor the
truly No-
ble Lord
Scuda-
more.

from a * Learned man that had the honour to be acquainted with him in *France*, viz. He (the said *Grotius*) was a man wonderful courteous and affable, very free in communicating his knowledge in any point of Learning, very ready to give his advice, touching any course of study, what Authors were fittest to be read, his Latine in his discourse was altogether such as we may see in his Books, ready, fluent, easy and unaffected, so that I verily think no man ever spake more fluently in his Mother tongue. He was a most indefatigable Student, and a man of a singular ready memory and cleerness of judgement. A great lover of the Union & Peace of the Church,* An approver of the Church of *England*,* as most orderly reformed, He was of a most sweet Christian disposition far from any thought of revenge

*See the
beginning
of his *Vo-
rum pro
pace*.

*See Of
Authority
pag. 103.

Hugo Grotius.

revenge for any injury. One time coming from an Audience at *St. Germans* the Secretary of Ceremonies being in the Coach with him, it chanced that in a place a great number of people were in the way seeing an execution, His Coachman and Postilion driving boldly through the Company, the Archers which use to attend executions with short peeces, being angry to see the execution disturbed, made after the Coach, shot his Postilion and Coachman, and shot also through the Coach, even through our Authors hat, and the King offering to hang three or four of them at his gate, if *Grotius* pleased, he pardoned them all.

Because we desire the Memory of this great Man, should be dear to all lovers of Vertue and Learning, according to his most high deserts towards the Commonwealth.

The Life of

wealth of good Letters. I have easily obtained of my self, to insert here and to communicate to the candid and ingenuous Reader, what hath come unto my hands, by the help and favour of some friends concerning the end of so excellent, a Personage in a Letter of *Quiſtorpius*, the primary professor of Theology at *Rostoch* set forth at *Amsterdam*, v. z.

J. Quiſtor-
pii epist.
Rostoch.
Sep. 1645.

You are earnest with me, (saith *Quiſtorpius*) to relate the last Act of that Phenix of learned men *Hugo Grotius*, and how he behaved himself when he took his leave of this world, take it briefly thus, He took ship at *Stockholm* bound for *Lnbeck*, at Sea he met with a great storm, and having been beaten with it and tossed for the space of three days he suffered shipwrack and was cast upon the shoar of *Cassubia*, sick and weak. Thence
in

Hugo Grotius.

in a very incommodious journey and a rainy season, passing sixty miles and more he was brought at length to *Ristoch*, He diverted to *Balemannia*, and did send for Dr. *Stockman* the Physitian, who observing the weakness of his body by reason of age, shipwrack, and the incommodities of the journey, presaged the end of his Life to be at hand. The next day after his re-entrance into this City, (which in the old stile was the 18. of *August* 1545.) about nine at night, he requested me to visit him, I came accordingly, and found him approaching near to the agony of death, I saluted him, and signified how happy I should have been to have had conference with him, had he been in health, his answer was, *Ita Deo visum fuit*, i. e. Thus it hath pleased God, I went on and advised him to compose himself to a
happy

happy departure, to acknowledge himself a sinner and repent of whatsoever he had done amiss. And when (as we discoursed,) I had mentioned the Publican confessing himself a sinner, and praying God to be merciful unto him, He answered, *Ego ille sum Publicanus* i. e. I am that Publican, I proceeded and committed him to Christ, without whom there is no salvation. He replied, *In solo Christo omnis spes mea est reposita*, i. e. In Christ alone is placed all my hope, I rehearsed with a loud voice that German prayer in the German tongue, *Heer Jesu maher Mensch und Gott*, &c. He with closed hands and a low voice, said after me, When I had done, I asked whether he understood me, He answered, *Probe intellexi*, I understand you well, afterward I repeated some passages out of the word of God which dying men are wont

The Life of

went to be put in mind of, and I
asked again whether he understood
me, I hear your voice said he, but
hardly understand what you say.
Then he became speechless, and in
a short time after about twelve at
midnight he gave up the Ghost, the
18. of *August Anno Dom. 1645* *Obiit. An-*
etat. sua 64. To the great loss of *no. 1645.*
Learning and grief of Learned
men.

Thus have you the Catastrophy
of *Grotius*, the last end of this ex-
cellent man's Life. His dead Body
was committed to the Physicians,
his bowells were put in a vessel of
brass, and laid up in 'the most ho-
nourable place of our most princi-
pal Church, where let him rest in
Peace.

Now, I confess, much more might
be added to the Life of our Author,
concerning his troubles in his
Country, his imprisonment, his
strange

Hugo Grotius.

strange escape and perservation out
of it in a Chest, by means of his lo
ving Wife, his entertainment in
France, his employment there as
Lord Embassadour for the King
dom of *Sweden* about ten years, his
laborious and learned Books, writ
ten both in his prison and at liberty
in his private and in his publick For
tune, which are in high estimation
with all ingenious Students. But
these things we refer to our Me
morials of the Author in our Tran
slation of his renowned Book *De*
Jure Belli & Pacis, which we have
communicated to the English Rea
der, that being accepted, which
we have here done, and lately in our
Translation of his Book *De imperio*
&c. And to vindicate our Author
from the aspersion of seditions
which some have endeavoured to
cast upon him, you have here a
testimony of his Fidelity to his Su
periors

The Life of

periors in the following publick,
Act taken out of his *Votum pro*
pace pag. 83. What his Doctrine
was concerning obedience to Go-
vernors, see in his *Appendix*. And I
have received from a good hand that
our Author a little before his death
declared his affection to the Church
of *England*, and his desire to end his
dayes in the Communion of the
same.

This Book now mentioned was
Printed at *Paris*, after the Authors
death. *Anno*. 1647. But written
many years before, it was reprint-
ed there the following year with
some notes of *Blondel* and an Ap-
pendix *De jure Plebeio*, and (upon
sight thereof) I find no necessity
to say any thing further in defence
of our Authors Doctrine, which I
conceive, (with submission) to be
very sound, and worthy to be con-
sidered

Hugo Grotius.

sidered by the Rulers in every
Christian Common-wealth.

In Laudem *Hu. Grotii.*

*The Grace and Shame of Holland
Friend of France.*

*Swedes Orator, the Conqueror of
Chance.*

*Poet, Historian, Lawyer, and Divine.
(Read and admire him) All in one
combine.*

Clem. Barksdale.

THE



Testimonium.

Nos Senatus, Burgimagi-
stri, Scabini & Consili-
arii urbis Delfensis in
Hollandia, certos omnes
facimus rei vere, nempe paruisse
coram nobis D. justum Adriche-
mium, ejusdem urbis Burgimagi-
strum, D. Eobaldum Dussium, &
D. Cornelium Berestemum Exburgi-
magistros, & D. Joannem Camarli-
num Consiliarium ejusdem urbis &
Adsessorem, qui pariter & singuli,
rogante id D. Wilhelmo Grotio
Advocato apud Curiam Hollandie,
(a) pro

pro fratre suo D. Hugone Grotio
Legato Reginae Regnique Suedici in
Gallia, declararunt, testa ique sunt,
fide ejus iusjurandi, quod in hono-
rum adeptione dederunt, se tanquam
legatos ab hac civitate, interfuisse
conventui Magnorum ac Potentum
Ordinum Hollandiae & Westfrisiae,
ei qui celebratus fuit ante Pascha,
Anni 1622. ilique se audisse lega-
tos qui in eo conventu civitatem
Roterodamensem referebant, diser-
tè enunciantes, dictum D. Hugo-
nem Grotium, quo tempore obibat
munus Adfessoris, & delegati Con-
siliarii Ordinum Hollandiae, ac no-
minatim Anno 1618. non aliud pro-
posuisse, postulasse, fecisse, quam
quod conveniret cum decretis Do-
minorum suorum Rectorum urbis
Roterodamensis: ei quoque manda-
tum, illa suo loco proponere, & ef-
fecta dare, nec ulla in parte eum
extra aut contra mandata fecisse.
Addidisse

*Addidisse etiam, si ille in istis rebus
peccavit, nos peccavimus, ita se te-
stes servaret Deus. Et quia officii
um cujusque est veritati testimoni-
um exhibere, presertim ubi id ro-
gatur, propterea nos Scultetus, Bur-
gimagistri, Scabini & consiliarii
antedicti sigillum ad causas hujus
civitatis, subter hoc actum poni ius-
simus. Actum 16. Jan. Anno 1637.*

Subscriptum.

J. Ophrovius.



TO THE
READER.

Courteous Reader,

NOW again you have this little Volume revised and corrected. In defence of Religion there is enough for reasonable men : And for the points controverted , too much perhaps, in the opinion of such as measure Truth by its distance from *Rome*. The *Epistolical Discourse* is printed in the same form,
to

to go along with it in this fourth Impression : Whereunto is added a third Treatise, never before in English, now translated out of the same Author by the same Translator : This little Book hath been of that great sale, that the third Impression did all sell away in little more than in two years, and had not these three or four late fearful years of War, Plague, and the late fearful Fire fallen upon this City, this little Book had been new Re printed three or four years since : There is some more Inlargement of the Authors Life in this Impression, and great care in correcting this and the former.

What remains concerning the Author, is annexed to our Selections *Of War and Peace* ; which Translation, the Reader is intreated not to censure with
(a) 3 severity,

severity, untill he hath himself tryed, what it is to translate but the first leaf of that Noble work *De jure belli & pacis*.

The

The late dreadful Fire, consuming such multitudes of Books, among which my losses herein being so great, that of many Copies of Books, and great numbers of the Impressions, were so burnt up, that I had not one Copy left to print the same by; but receiving some more encouragement of late, and finding great want of many Books, I have re-printed of late, and prepared others for the Press, with which small remainder, I have printed a small Catalogue out of my former greater, viz.

Plutarch's Lives in English,
with a new addition of twenty
new Lives, written by a famous
(a) 4 French

French Author, never published before in English, with the several Dates of the years of the World, and the years before and after Christ when they lived; in large Folio.

God's Revenge against Murther, in Thirty Tragical Histories, by John Reynholds; the fifth Edition now preparing and fitting for a new Impression, with the Pictures and Portraitures of the several Persons and Resemblances of other passages mentioned therein, most of them newly engraven in Copper Plates this year, 1668.

Silva Silvarum, or A Natural History, in ten Centuries, whereunto is added the History of Life and Death, or the Prolongation of Life, with his Treatise of Minerals, together with other of the said small Treatises prepared and fitted for to print, written by the Right Honour-

Honourable *Francis Lord Bacon*,
Baron of *Vernham*, in Folio.

Resuscitatio, or, *Bringing to publick Light*, several peeces of the Works heretofore sleeping of the said honourable Author : The Second Edition, with some Additions by *William Rawley*, Dr. of Divinity, his Lordships first and last Chaplain, and after Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty : The said Dr. *Rawley*, many years, did prepare to have published all my Lord *Bacon's* Works in English, correcting and fitting them for the Press, leaving the trust and care of them in my hands, as partly appears by several Letters under his own hand, but God so ordered his Life, that he received him to his mercy about a year since.

Trotmans Abridgment of my Lord *Cocks* II. Reports with a new Table to the said Book.

Mr.

Mr. Leigh's *Body of Divinity*, in ten Books, wherein the fundamental grounds of Religion are opened, Heresies, and Errors confuted, the Orthodox Truth maintained : The third Impression with about a hundred sheets added, his *Annotations* on the new Testament.

The Interpretation of Dreams, by *Artimedorus* the Seventh Edition, corrected and enlarged, with some New Additions of memorable things of note, to be sold by *Simon Miller* 1689. Not yet published.

The Worth of a Penny is now reprinting, with some new Additions, shewing the scarcity and want of money, and the Cause of it, with the Remedy thereof, by *Henry Peacham*, with a new Addition of a Friend of his re-printed, 1669.

Youth's Behaviour, or *Decency in Conversation among men*, composed in French by grave Persons, and tran-

translated into *English* by *Francis Hawkins*, Nephew to *Sir Thomas Hawkins*, Translator of the *Holy Court*, with many new Additions, re-printed, 1668. Also the Second Part, being all burnt, is prepared again for to re-print, with some very useful Additions.

Law Books belonging to William Lee in Partnership.

Lord *Hobarts Reports.*
Bulstrods Reports in three Parts.

Stiles Reports.

Winsh his Reports.

Lanes Reports.

Wingats Maxims.

Shepheards Epitomy.

Lord Cooks Institutions. His Comment on *Magna Charta* the second Part. His *Pleas of the Crown*, the third Part. His *Jurisdiction of Courts*, his 4th. Part.
Lord

Lord Cook: II. Reports, in English.
*Shephards Touchstone of Common
Assurance.*

Fleta with Seldens Notes.

Godolt's Reports.

*Crumpton's Jurisdiction of Courts, in
Quarto, to be sold or exchan-
ged for Books.*

Law in Octavo.

T*rotman's Abridgment.*

Cook's Compleat Copiholder.

*Coltrop's Readings on Copiholders
Baile and main price.*

A brief Treatise of *Nuseances*, to-
gether with many other Books,
here omitted, of Law and other
Subjects.



I. DISCOURSE.

Of God, and his Providence.

THE SUMMARY.

- I. **T**hat there is a God.
- II. That God is one.
- III. That all perfection is in God.
- IV. And that infinitely.
- V. That God is Eternal, Omnipotent, Omniscient, and of infinite goodness.
- VI. That God is the Cause of all things.
- VII. Answer to an Objection, concerning The Cause of Evil.
- VIII. Against two Principles, or First Causes.
- IX. That the whole world is governed by God.
- X. Sublunary things as well as celestial.
- XI. And things Singular as well as Universal.
- XII. Farther proof from the Conservation of Empires.
- XIII. The Providence of God also proved by Myracles.

B XIV. Prin-

XIV. Principally among the Jews, which are commended to belief by the duration of their Religion.

XV. By the Veracity and Antiquity of Moses.

XVI. By the Testimonies of Aliens.

XVII. Miracles after Moses of no less credit.

XVIII. Gods Providence also proved by Predictions.

XIX. And by other Arguments.

XX. Answer to an Objection, that Miracles are ceased.

XXI. And to another Objection that there is so much wickedness.

XXII. Even to the oppression of good men many times : which objection is retorted.

XXIII. That the Soul remains after the Body, proved by tradition.

XXIV. No reason repugnant to it.

XXV. Many reasons in favour of it,

XXVI. Felicity after this life. For the attaining whereof, we must enquire after Christ.

I. DISCOURSE.

Of GOD and his Providence.

IT is manifest by Sense, and by ^{I.} That there
the Confession of all the World, is a God.
there are some things which
have had beginning: but those things
could not give beginning to them-
selves; for then they would work
before they were, which is impos-
sible: It follows then, that they had
Original from without, which is
not only true of things which we do see
or have seen, but of them also whence
they receive their Being; till at last
we arrive at some Cause, that never had
beginning, and whose Being is necessa-
ry, not contingent. And this is that
which we mean by the name of GOD.
Again, this is made good, by the most
apparent and unanimous Consent of all
Nations, where Barbarism hath not
quite extinguisht the sparks of Reason
and good Manners: For, seeing all
things that depend upon the will of man,

are neither the same among all men, and are often changed: But this Notion is found every where, and is not changed by the Vicissitude of Times (as *Aristotle* himself, a man hard of belief without Demonstration, hath observed:) certainly, there must be some universal cause hereof; which can be no other, than either the Oracle of God, himself, or Tradition derived from the first Parents of Mankind. If we admit the former, the Question is won: if the latter, truly no good Reason can be given, why we should believe our first Parent, would deceive all their Posterity in a thing of so great Moment. Moreover, whether we survey the parts of the world long since known, or the new-found Lands, where (as we said) any Remains of Humanity are left; this Notion appears, both among witty, and duller Nations: And it is not credible, that either all the former could be deceived, or the latter be able to deceive. If any one oppose and say, Some few men, in sundry Ages have not believed, or at least professed they did not believe there is a God.

Ans. I answer, Seeing they were but few, and their opinion was generally rejected, soon as their Arguments were heard,

objec.

is manifest, it was not the issue of right Reason (which is common to men) but of an innovating Spirit ; like the opinion of him, who would needs have the Snow to be black ; or of a corrupt mind, that, as a sick palate, tasteth not things as they are. We may say this the more confidently ; because Histories and other Writings tell us, The more any men have excelled in Vertue, the more studiously have they preserved this Notion of a Deity. And, That the defection from the Opinion anciently and universally received, proceeds from their depraved disposition, for whose interest it is, there should be no God to call them to account for their ungodly Doings, even hence appears ; Because, whatsoever they hold, whether succession of things without any beginning, or concurrence of Atoms, or whatsoever else ; it is incumbered with no less, if not with greater difficulties ; nor will any considering man find so much reason to believe it, as what we say. Some object, Because they cannot see God, therefore they cannot believe He is. These men, if they see any thing, see well enough how unworthily this is spoken by any man that believes he hath a Soul, which he sees not. Neither if

*Object.**Ans.*

our understanding cannot comprehend the Divine Nature, must we therefore deny there is a God? For it is a defect peculiar to inferiour things, not to be able to comprehend things superiour and more excellent. The Brutes do not conceive what Man is; much less by what reason Common-wealths are instituted and governed, the courses of the Stars measured, and Shipping invented. All these things are above their capacity. Upon this, Man being advanced above the Brutes in Nobleness of Nature, and that not by himself, ought to infer, That He, who had advanc'd him, is also his superiour; and being so, by his excellency exceeds the narrowness of Comprehension.

II.
That God
is one.

A God there is; we have evinced that. We come now to his Attributes: The first whereof is Unity. That there is One God, and no more, is collected hence; Because, God (as above was said) is that which hath a Being necessary, or by it self; Now a thing is necessarily or by it self, not as it is considered in general, but as it is in act. The things in act are singular; But, if you suppose many Gods, you will find nothing

thing in them singly, why they can have a necessary Being: nothing, why they should be rather Two then Three, or Five then Ten. Moreover, the Multiplication of singular things of the same kind, is from the fecundity of Causes whence they are extracted. But, of God is no Original, no Cause. Farther, in singulars are certain singular proprieties whereby they are distinguish'd: which in God, whose Being is necessary, are not needful to be supposed. Nor indeed can you any where find any tokens of a plurality in God. For, all things make up but one World; therein is one thing most beautiful, the Sun: and in every man, one thing hath Empire over the rest, the Mind. Besides, if they were Two, or more Gods, working with freedom of Will, They might will things contrary, and one hinder the other from effecting his Intent: But, to say of God, that He may be hindred, is most unworthy of his Nature.

To proceed to other Attributes of God: that whatsoever is contained in the name of Perfection: is in God, Hence is understood; Because all the

III.
That all
Perfection
is in God

Perfection in the world either had beginning or not, if not it is the Perfection of God: if it had beginning, it was from some Cause: for, nothing comes of Nothing. It follows then, the Perfections apparent in the effects, were first in the Causes, that by them the Causes might produce their effects: And therefore all Perfection was in the first Cause. Nor could the first Cause be afterward deprived of any perfection: not by any other; because, what is eternal depends not on other things, nor suffers from their action; not by it self; because, every thing naturally desires its own Perfection.

IV.
And that
infinitely

We must adde, These Perfections are in God infinitely. Because the Attribute of every thing is limited, either by reason the Cause thereof hath communicated to it so much, and no more: or else, for that the thing it self was capable only of so much. Now, no nature communiceth any thing of it self to God, nor doth he receive any thing from without, existing (as we said) necessarily, or by himself.

V.
That God,

Moreover, It being manifest. That
Things

His Providence.

Things having life, are more perfect than the Things without life; and the Things that have understanding, then those that understand not; and the things that are good, then such as are not so: It follows from the premises, All these attributes do agree unto God, and that infinitely. He is therefore of infinite life, that is, Eternal; of infinite Power, that is, Omnipotent; and so Omniscient, and All-good without exception.

is Eternal, Omnipotent, Omniscient, and of infinite Goodness.

It is connexed herewith, That all things, whatsoever have existence, have the Origin of it from God. For, one of our Conclusions was, That which is necessarily, or by it self, is but One, Whence it follows, All other things take the Rise from that which is divers from themselves. All which, either immediately, or in their Causes have beginning from that which hath no beginning, namely, from God: as we have seen afore. Nor is this evinced by Reason only, but after a sort by Sense. For, if we behold the admirable structure of mans Body, both within and without; and, how all parts there, even the least, have their use, without

VI.
That God is the Cause of all things.

any study, without any industry of the Parents: and, with so much art, that the now skilful Philosophers and Physicians could never enough admire it. This speaks the Maker to be a most excellent intelligence, Whereof, *Galen* may be seen, where especially he examines the use of the Eye, and of the Hand. Yea, the bodies of the mute Animals speak no less: whose Parts receive their place and figuration, not from any force of the matter, but of the end whereto they serve. The Plants also and Herbs read us the same lesson, as Philosophers have accurately noted. *Strabo* hath observed the same, by the position of the Waters; that, if you respect their quality, ought to take place between the Earth and the Air: but now are interfused in the Earth, to the end they might be serviceable to the Earths fruitfulness, and to the life of Man. Now, to work for an end, is the property of an intelligent Nature. Neither are particulars only ordained to their peculiar ends, but all things to a common end, as appears in Water, which against it's own nature moves upward to preserve the frame of the Whole from any gap or vacuity, being so composed,

Lib. 17. i
 Vid. Chry-
 sost. de stat.
 9 Serm.

posed, that by a continued cohesion of parts it sustains it self. But, the intention of this universal End, and Power in all things to attain unto it, must needs come from that Intellect, that is Master of this Universe. And, do not some of the irrational Creatures exercise acts with such order and direction, that they manifestly proceed from some Reason? which appears most in Ants and Bees, and in some other Creatures too, which before any experiment made, either eschew the harmful, or pursue things profitable. That themselves have not this Vertue of inventing or judging, appears in that their work is alwayes the same, and to other things of greater moment their power is nothing: Wherefore it is necessary, those acts proceed from an external Reason, either directing the Creatures, or making an effectual impression on them: which Reason is nothing else but what we call GOD. Again, the cœlestial Stars also, and the most eminent among them, the Sun and Moon, run their courses so attempered and applied to the fertility of the earth, and commodity of living Creatures, that nothing can be imagined more convenient. For, although the Motion,

*Cic. de Offic.
1. & de
Nat. deor. 2.*

*Vid. Mism.
aut. dubit.
p. 2. c. 24.*

Motion, by the Equator only, had been much more simple and direct, we see they have another oblique motion, whereby they might communicate their Favours with the more variety. Now as the Fruits of the earth are for the living Creatures: so the rest of the living Creatures are for Man, who by the exuberance and advantage of his Wit subdues them all unto himself, Whence even the Stoicks did conclude, The world was made for Man. But, seeing no power of man can reach so far, as to command service from the Lights of Heaven; nor are they to be supposed to have enslaved themselves to Man of their own accord: It follows, That there is a Superiour Mind, by whose Order those fairest Bodies vouchsafe their perpetual Aid unto Man dwelling so far below. Which mind is no other than the wise Maker of the Stars and Universe. And the very Motions of the Stars, Both Eccentrick and Epicyclick, manifestly shew, not the Vertue of their Materials, but the Ordination of a free Agent. The same shins forth in the position of the Constellations, some on this, some on that part of Heaven: and likewise, by the

so unequal Form of Land and Sea. The motions also of the Stars, this way rather than that way, gives evidence to this truth. Yea, the most perfect round figure of the whole, and the parts, embraced as it were in the bosom of Heaven, and in a wondrous order all disposed, do with loud voice proclaim, These things came not together by Chance, but were constituted by an Intellect, and that of greatest excellence. For, who is so void of Reason, to expect from the hand of Chance any thing so exact? As if one should believe Stones and Timber could, by Chance, meet together and make a House; or, some Poem start up out of letters uncomposed: When as, he that spied Geometrical Figures on the Shore, presently acknowledged the prints of humane Art, being assured Chance was not the Authour of them. Moreover, that Mankind was not from ever, but from a certain point of time had its common Original, the Progress of Arts, among other Arguments, evinceth; and the Earth of old incult, but in process of time inhabited. Which also the Languages of Islands tells us, borrowed from the adjoining Continent.

Add

*Sen. apud
Laſt. Non-
dum sunt
mille anni,
ex quo in-
ſiſſe ſapien-
tiæ nota
ſunt.*

Add hereto certain Institures and Customs so common to men, that they seem received, not so much from instinct of Nature, as from perpetual Tradition, and (except in some few places, through Malice or humane Calamity) uninterrupted: such as in ancient time was the slaying of Sacrifice, in Divine Service, and still is the bashfulness about Venerous matters, the solemnities of Marriage, and the abhorrency of Incest.

VII.
Answer to
an objecti-
on concern-
ing the
Cause of
Evil.

Nor ought we to be removed from our grounds, for that we see many evils come to pass, whose Original seems not to be from God, who is (as we said before) perfectly good. For, when we did set down our own position, That God is the cause of all things, we added, of things that have a real subsistence. This hinders not, but the things which do subsist, may themselves be causes of certain Accidents, such as Actions are. God created Man, and the Intelligences above Man with a liberty to act: which liberty of acting, although it self be not vicious, yet is able to produce somewhat that is so. And to Evils of this sort, which are called morally evil, to ascribe God for the Author, is very grosse

gross impiety. There are evils in another sense, so named, because they adfer some pain or loss to the person that suffers, which, we deny not, proceed from God: and that either for the Patients amendment, or else for a punishment answerable to the offence. Herein is nothing repugnant to the Divine Goodness. Yea, these Afflictions oft-times are the effects of meer Goodness, like a bitter medicine from a good Physician.

By the way, their Opinion is to be rejected, who have made two active principles, the one good, the other bad. For from two principles, one opposite to the other, destruction will ensue, orderly construction cannot. Nor doth it follow, because something is Good by it self, therefore there may be something by it self, and every way bad: seeing Evil is but some defect, which cannot be but in something that doth exist: and this very Existence is some Good.

VIII.
Against two
principles
or first Causes.

Moreover, that this Universe is governed by Gods Providence, appears from the care, which not only Men, but all creatures are endued

IX.
That the
whole
world is
governed
by God.

endued with understanding, but Birds, wild Beasts and Cattel (which have somewhat instead of understanding) have every one of their Issues. Which Perfection, being a part of Goodness, is not to be separated from God; and the rather, because he is both Omnipotent and Omniscient: so that he cannot but know what things are done or to be done, and himself can most easily direct and rule them. Pertinent whereunto, is that we said above, of the Motion of things against their proper nature for a publick end.

X.
Sublunary
things as
well as
Celestial

They that confine this Providence within the Sphere of Heaven, are prov'd to be in an Errour as wide as Heaven from Earth, both by the Reason already alleged, whose force reacheth unto all the Creatures; and hence also, that the Stars in their Courses, as the best of the Philosophers acknowledge, and is demonstrated by plain experience, are ordained for the use of man. And it were very unequal, That Creature should be less regarded, for whose benefit another is made, than that which is provided for its use.

Not

Nor are they less deceived, who submit Universals to the care of God, but not Singulars also. For, if they would have God ignorant of singular things as some profess, than would he not so much as know himself; neither will his knowledge be infinite: (which we have proved before) if singular things be not included within the compass of it. But, if God know them, how comes it about that he cares not for them? When as both singular things, as singular, are ordained to a certain end, particular and universal; and the kinds or species of things, which (as these men confess) are conserv'd by God, subsist not, but in the singulars: So that; if the singulars, being abdicated by the Divine Providence, go to ruine, the things in general cannot remain.

XI.
And things
singular
also.

It is no Light Argument of the Divine Providence, in the judgement of Philosophers and Historians, the Conservation of Common-wealths: First in general: because wheresoever the order of Ruling and Obeying is once entertained, it abides ever: And then, in special, by the long continuance of this or that Form of Government, through

XI.
Farther
proof from
the Con-
servation
of Empires.

through many Ages; as, of the Regal among the Assyrians, Ægyptians, and Franks; of the Optimacy among the Venetians. For, although somewhat may be ascribed to humane Wisdom, yet, if we consider well the multitude of evil men, with external evil Accidents and the Vicissitude innate to humane Affairs, it seems impossible for any Empire to endure so long, without some peculiar Care of the Divine power. Which, if it be not seen in the Conservation of Empires, is more evidently shewed, when it pleaseth God to make a Mutation of them. For the Instruments He useth to that Design, such as *Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar* the Dictator, and others, these have all things, even those which depend not upon humane Prudence, flowing in upon them with unexpected Success; more than is usual in the uncertain Affairs of the World. Which Constancy of their Fortune, and perpetual similitude of Events, and as it were Conspiracy of all Accidents unto one certain End, is an open Declaration of a provident Direction. For also at Dice, to throw five-cinque sometimes, may be Chance; but if one throw the same Cast a hundred times

*Usq; adeo
res huma-
nas vis
abditæ quæ-
dam obierit.
Lucr.*

times together, no man will deny, This is done by some extraordinary Art.

But the most sure Testimony to Divine Providence, is given by Miracles and Predictions, which in Histories are extant. It is true, many things in this kind are fabulously reported: but those that are authoris'd by sufficient Witnesses of the same time (that is, such as for their judgement and fidelity are approved) are not to be rejected as improbable, much less as impossible. For, seeing God is Omniscient, and Omnipotent, why can he not either signify what he knows, or do what he pleaseth, even beyond the Common Order of Nature, which, as it was at first constituted by Himself, so is it by the right of Creation still subject to him? If any one say, That some such things might also proceed from Intelligences inferiour to God; it may be granted: but this opens the way for a more easie belief that the same might be done by God. And what those Intelligences do, God, we may think, either doth by them, or in his Wisdom permitteth. Seeing in Kingdoms and Commonwealths well established, nothing is wont to be done beside the Common Laws

XIII.
The same
proved by
Miracles.

Object.

Ans.

Laws unless by the will of the Supreme Governour.

XIV.
Principally
among the
Jews which
are com-
mended to
belief by
the durati-
on of their
Religion.
* *Vid. Jo-
sep. 1. Cont.
Apion. ex
Hecataeo.*

Quæst.

Ans.

Now, that some Miracles have indeed been done ; if we doubt of the faith of other Histories, even the Judaical Religion may easily evince alone : Which being long since destitute of all humane support , yea , exposed to contempt and derision, perdures * unto this day through almost all parts of the World : When as other Religions all (except the Christian, which is, as it were, the perfection of the Jewish) are either vanish'd , so soon as Force, and the Authority of the Secular Arm withdrew it self ; as all Pagan Religions ; or else, are yet upheld by the same Arm , as Mahometism. If the cause be enquir'd, Why the Judaick Religion took so deep roots in the minds of all the Hebrews, that it cannot be extirpated : No Reason can be adferred or imagined, but this ; That the present Jews from their Parents, as they from theirs, and so upward , untill we arrive at those, who lived in *Moses* and *Joshuah's* time, by certain and constant Tradition have received those Miracles ; which, as in other places, so especially at their coming

ming out of *Egypt*, and in the Wilder-
ness; and in their entrance into *Canaan*,
had happened; and whereof those their
Progenitors were eye-witnesses. Other-
wise it is incredible that a People, con-
tumacious and stiff enough, would sub-
mit their Necks to the Yoke of a Law,
made heavy by so many Ceremonies;
or, that intelligent men, among all
the marks of Religion, which humane
Reason might invent, should single out
Circumcision: a Mark, which could nei-
ther be admitted without grievous pain,
and was derided by all strangers; nor
had any thing in it to commend it self,
beside God the Author.

And *Moses* Books, wherein those Mi-
racles are recorded are of certain cre-
dit: not only, Because there hath been
a perpetual Fame among the Hebrews,
that He was commended by the Oracle
of God, and made a Leader of his
People: but also, because it is sure e-
nough, he was neither studious of his
own Glory, nor partial to his own Po-
sterity having laid open his own sins,
which he might have concealed, and as-
signed the Royal Dignity and Priest-
hood to others; his own children being
left

XV.
By the ve-
racity, and
antiquity
of *Moses*.

left among the common Levites. All which declares, he had no reason to deceive us. Neither doth he affect any coloured or illecebrous speech, such as Deceivers use, but plain and simple, and agreeable to the matter he relateth. Adde the undoubted Antiquity of *Moses* Writings; with which, no other in the world can be compared. Whereof this is one Argument. That the Grecians, the Parents of all learning to other Nations, confess themselves to have received their letters* from strangers. Which letters, for their order and name, and their antient figures too, acknowledge their Descent from the Syriac or Hebrew. As also, the old *Attic* Laws(a) whence the Roman were in after-time deriv'd, drew their Original from the Laws of *Moses*.

* *Cadmi*
Phœnicia
signa. Timo.

a *Vid. De*
jure belli,
l. 2.c. 1. S.
12.

XV.
By the Testimonies
of Aliens.

b *Vid. Eu.*
feb. 1. 7.
prep. ca. 10

Besides all this, we have the Testimonies of many Aliens from the Jews Religion, to evidence, That the thing written by *Moses* were in old time proclaimed by Fame, spread over all Nations. I will set down some particulars. wherein the most Antient Heathen Writers are his Seconds: That the world had a (b)beginning; and out of

Chas.

Chaos were formed all Creatures*, and last of all Man, after Gods Image, to whom Dominion over the rest was given: That all things were made by the Word: That the Sun is not the primogeneous Light, but the Receptacle thereof: And above the Stars are Mansions Divine, wherein is light perpetual: That God is the most Antient, and descended of none: The world most beautiful, as the work of God: That the Darkness was before the Light, and therefore did the Nations, most observant of Old Customes, account their Time by (c) Nights, That there is one God most high, by whom all things were made in order; from whom the Stars have their brightness, and moving Creatures have Life and Spirit (d) infused in them: And that man was fashioned out of the Clay, and all the work was finished in seven daies: Whence many Nations digested their Time into Weeks, and had the Seventh (e) day in honour: That, at first, Men lived in great Innocency and Simplicity, and went naked, and lasted a Thousand years; whence the Golden Age of the Poets: The History of Adam and Eve; of the Tree, and of the Serpent: That

* Vid. Ovid. Metam. l. 1.

c Caesar de bel. G. l. 6.

d Spiritus intus alit. Virg. Æn. 6.

e Læx septima Sæc. Clem. ex Hesiodo.

*h Catul.
Epirhal.*

*h Vid. Cen-
sarin.*

*i Diodor.
Sicul. l. 19.*

*k Longin. de
subl. Justin.
ex Trog. Ta-
cit. Juven.*

That Men were favoured by God with divine (*g*) Visions, until the frequency and magnitude of their offences, as it were, secluded God and his ministring Spirits from their familiar commerce : The wildeness of the Gyants ; The Deluge, from whence the Nations reckon their time, calling what went before (*h*) unknown : The Ark, and the Dove, and the Raven : The place where the Ark rested ; The burning of (*i*) Sodom ; Circumcision ; the History of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph : And other particulars ; are extant in sundry antient Heathen Authors. In the most of them is celebrated (*k*) Moses and his Acts. And truely, no considering man will be easily perswaded, that Moses, who had not the Egyptians only, but many other Nations for his Enemies, would dare to publish of the Worlds Original, and the most ancient Occurrances, what might be revinced either by former Writings, or was opposite to the common belief ; or, that he would adventure to relate things of his own time, which might be refelled by the Testimonies of Many then alive. The old Jews are also honourably mentioned for their Piety and their Justice

Justice: And it is not needfull to repeat what is found concerning *Joshua* and others, contonant to the Hebrew Story. For, whosoever gives faith to *Moses* (which no man without immodesty can deny him) he will certainly believe that eminent Miracles were of old wrought by the Divine Power: which is the point we here especially insist on.

The Miracles in after-times, as of *Elias*, *Elisha*, and of others, are the more clear from any suspicion, because in those times *Judæa* was more known; and being in the *Odium* of her Neighbors for diversity of Religion, it had been very easie for them to have repressed the fame of any lie at the first birth, The History of *Jonas* (1) and the Whale is in Heathen Writers, but that the name of *Hercules* is thrust in, upon whom, for his renown, they were wont to father all wonders. as *Tacitus* observeth. Certainly, that enemy of Jews as well as Christians, (m) *Julian*, was by the Evidence of History enforced to confess, That men indued with a Divine Spirit had lived among the Hebrews; and, that fire came down from Heaven upon

XVII.

Miracles
after *Moses*
of no less
credit.

1 Tzerz in
Lycoph.

m Apud
Cyrril .li.3..
cap. 10.

C

the

the Sactifices of *Moses* and *Elias*. And here we must note, Not only grievous
 * *Deut. 13.* * punishments among the Jews, were
 appointed for them, that falsly arrogated
 the Prophets part unto themselves : but
 many Kings, who that way might have
 procured to themselves great Authority;
 many very learned men, such as *Esdras*
 and others, never durst assume unto
 them that honour ; nor any man at all,
 for some * Ages before the time of *Jesus*.
 Moreover, it was impossible that so ma-
 ny thousand people could be deceived
 in the asseveration of a Publike, and as it
 were perpetual, Prodigy ; I mean, that
 Oracle, which shined forth out of the
 Pectoral * of the High Priest : which en-
 dured till the destruction of the first
 Temple, as the (n) Jews have ever be-
 lieved so firmly, that we must needs
 think, their Ancestors were most fully
 assured of it.

* *Exod. 18.*
30 & alibi.
 * *Jas. 1. 3. 9.*

XVIII.
 Gods Provi-
 dence is al-
 so proved
 by Predi-
 ons.
 Compare
Josh. 6. 26.
1 Reg. 16. 34.

To the Argument from Miracles is
 annexed another no less efficacious
 from the Predictions of things to come.
 Very many of these are extant among
 the Hebrews, and that of truth undeni-
 able : as concerning his orbity o) that
 should restore *Jericho* : concerning the de-

destruction of *Bethels* Altar by a King, in name *Josiah*, three hundred (p) years and more before it came to pass. So the name of *Cyrus* also, and his principal affairs were foreshewed by *Esaïas*: the end of *Jerusalem's* siege by the *Chaldean* Army, by *Jeremias* and by *Daniel*, the Translation of the Empire from the *Assyrians* to the *Medes* and *Persians*; from them to *Alexander* the *Macedonian*; whose Successors in part were the Families of *Lagus* and *Selencus*; and, what calamities the Hebrew People should receive from them, but most of all from *Antiochus* the Great. All this hath *Daniel* foretold so plainly, that *Porphyry* (q) comparing the Greek Histories, extant in his time, with those Prophecies, had no other refuge, but to say, that the Prophecies ascribed to *Daniel* were written after the things were come to pass. Which is all one, as if y^e should say, the Works under *Virgil's* name, were not written by him in the time of *Augustus*. For, of that we say, the *Hebrews* never made any more doubt than the *Romans* of this. To these may be added many Oracles, and most famous, even among the *Mexicans* and *Peruans*, which foretold the

p *Jos. Antiq.*
l. 10. c. 5.

Cap. 35. &c.
Dan. 2. &c.

q *Hieron. in*
Dan. passim.

v. *Acoftam,*
& *P. Ciez.* in
2. *Indic.*

val of the *Spaniards* in those Countries, and the calamities thence ensuing.

XIX.

And by o
ther Argu-
ments.

Hither may Dreams also be referred, not a few; and those so exactly agreeing with the events, which in themselves and in their Causes were wholly unknown to the Dreamers, that they cannot, without some touch of impudence, be referr'd to chance, or natural causes. Illustrious examples whereof *Tertullian* hath gathered out of most approved Authors, in his Book *de (r) Anima*. Add unto those the (*s*) *Spectrums* which have not only been seen, but heard to speak, as hath been related by Historians far enough from superstitious Credulity, and confirmed by witnesses of our own Age, who have lived in *Mexica* and other parts of *America*. Nor are we to slight those publick Tryalls of the Truth by red-hot * Irons, which so many *German* Histories, and the Laws themselves have mentioned.

XX.

Ans^r to
an Object.
that mira-
cles are not
now.

Neither hath any Man reason to object, that such Miracles are not now seen in our time, nor such predictions heard of. For, it is sufficient for the proof of divine Providence, that such things have been heretofore. Which Providence being

ing made good, it follows, that we believe God doth as providently and wisely now forbear such things, as before he used them. Nor was it fit, the Laws given to the Universe touching the natural course of things, and uncertainty of future Events, should be easily and alwaies transgressed; but then only, when there was a just and worthy Cause; as, when the worship of the true God banisht almost out of all the world, had residence only in a corner of it, to wit *Judaea*; and was to be often succoured and reinforced with new Aids against the Impiety that laid Siege round about it: Or, when Christian Religion, of which we shall after make a peculiar Discourse, was, according to Gods Decree, to be first propagated over all the world.

Some are moved to doubt of the Divine Providence, in Contemplation of the wickedness, wherewith as with a Deluge this Earth is overwhelmed. To restrain and curb the flowings hereof, This say they, were a work worthy of the Divine Providence, if there be any. But the Answer's easie. Seeing God in the Creation, gave Man a liberty to do well or ill (necessary and immutable goodness

C 3

being

XXI.

And to another Objection. that there is so much wickedness. Tertul. adv. Marcion. 2. Orig. con. Cels. 4. Virtuti humanæ si auferat libertatem, ipsius naturâ sustulerit.

being reserved as his own Prerogative) it was not fit He should put an impediment to evil Actions, contrary to that liberty. And yet, whatsoever Impediments were consistent with that liberty, (as the constitution and promulgation of a Law, internal and external Admonitions, with Threats also and Promises,) none of these is pretermitted by God. And moreover, he permitteth not the effects of malice to range whither they would, but restrains them so, that Government might never be overthrown, nor the knowledge of divine Laws utterly extinguisht. Neither are the wickednesses permitted altogether without fruit being ordered as we touched afore, either for the punishment of other men no less wicked; or for the correction of such as fall from the way of virtue; or for the Trial of their patience and constancy who have made good progress in it. Lastly, they also whose wickednesses are winked at for a time, are wont to pay dearly for the forbearance of their punishment; and must suffer what God shall command, because what he commanded they would not do.

XXII.

But if they that see so much wickedness

ness can see no vengeance follow it; and if some good men (whereas weak minds are usually offended) oppressed by the violence of the wicked, not only lead a troublesome life, but often undergo death, and that an infamous death, It doth not presently follow, that the Providence of God is vanished out of the world, which hath been shewed above by so convincing arguments; but rather with the wisest of men we must collect thus: Seeing God takes care of Actions, and is just, and yet wicked things are acted, Certainly we must expect some Judgement after this life, to the end, neither notorious Improbability may escape without punishment, nor eminent virtue go without Comfort and Reward.

vegn to the
oppression
of good men
many times,
which obje-
ction is re-
torted.

For the Confirmation whereof we must also prove that Souls remain after their Bodies. This Truth, by most ancient Tradition from our first parents (from whom else?) hath been derived even to all Civil Nations: as it appears by *Homer's Verses*, and by *Philosophers*, not *Greek* only, but the old *Gallick*, whom they called *Druids*, and of the *Indian Brackmans*; and by what, many (t) Writers have delivered concerning the *Ægypti-*

XXXII.
That the
soul re-
mains after
the body,
proved by
Tradition.
t *Justin Martyr*
Apolog. 2.
Cesar. l. 6.
Gal. Strab.
l. 4. & 15.
Porph. de
Animal.

n Copernic.
Rev. l. 3.
l. 16.

Ægyptians and *Thracians* and *Germans* too. Moreover, of the divine judgement after this life, we see many Testimonies were extant among the *Greeks*, *Ægyptians*, *Indians*, as good Authors do relate. Whereto may be added the Tradition of the worlds Conflagration. A token whereof the (n) Astrologers have observed, the Suns nearer approach unto the Earth. And when our men came first into the *Canaries*, *America*, and other remote places, they found there also the same Opinion of the souls, and of judgement to come.

XXIV.
No reason
repugnant
to it.

Nor indeed can there be found any Argument from nature, which may re-
fell this so antient, so common Tradition. For all things that we see perish, do
either perish by opposition of the con-
trary being more prevalent, as cold by
the force of heat; or else, by subtracti-
on of the subject, whereon they depend,
as the figure of a Glass, the Glass be-
ing broken; or by defect of the cause
efficient, as light by the absence of the
Sun. Now, of these can none of
these be verified in the first; because
the Soul hath no contrary; yea, such is
the nature thereof, that it embrace

ries all at once in her bosom, after her manner, that is, intellectually. Not the second; because the Soul depends not upon any subject. If she had any, it would be the body; but the body is not, it is manifest; because, when bodily strength decayeth, the Soul continueth fresh and active: And, the faculties of the Body are hurt by the too great excellency of the object, as the sight by the Sun's brightness: but the Soul, the more conversant it is about noble objects as about figures abstract from matter, about Universals, the more perfection it obtaineth. Again, such is the nature of the Body, that the faculties thereof are busied about things determined by time and place: but the Soul is imployed also about that which is infinite and eternal. Add, that the Soul overcommeth the affections of the Body, and commands the Body to abide torment and death. And, the Actions which raise the Soul most above the Body, are the most excellent. Wherefore, seeing the Soul dependeth not on the Body in operation, neither doth its Essence depend thereon. For we have no other way to understand the nature of things invisible, but by their opera-

Arist. de A-
nima l. I. p.
4. & l. 3. c.
4.

tions. Nor can the Soul perish in the third manner. For, no efficient Cause can be given, whence the Soul hath a perpetual Emanation. Not the Parents; because after they are dead the Children live. And, if there must be any Cause, it can be no other than the first and universal Cause. Which Cause, as it is never deficient in respect of power, so that it is deficient in respect of will, *i.e.* That God wills the Soul should perish, can be proved by no Argument.

XXV.
Many reasons in favour of it.

* Nulli natura mortali immortalis natura cognita est. Salust. Philos.

Fid. Tac. & Suet. de Tib.

Yea, there are Arguments of no small moment to the contrary: namely, that unto Man is given a Dominion over his own actions, and over the Creatures: that He is capable of the knowledge of God and of the immortal * natures: that He hath a Conscience of such power, as to comfort him in good actions, how painful soever, and sustain him with hope; and to torment him for evil Actions, especially upon his death-bed, as it were upon apprehension of impending judgement. Which force of Conscience, even the most mighty Tyrants, oft-times have not been able, when they most desired, to suppress within themselves, as appears by many examples.

Now,

Now, to conclude, if both the Soul it self be of that nature, which hath in it no cause of corruption; and God hath given us many evidences of his pleasure, that the Soul shall survive the Body: surely no end can be proposed to a man more worthy of him, than the felicity of that State. And this is that, which *Plato* and the *Pythagoreans* said was the Good of Man, to be made most like unto God (*y*). What that Felicity is, and how it may be attained, Men may indeed search after by Conjectures; but, if God hath revealed any thing concerning it, That ought to be held for most true and certain. Which Revelation, seeing Christ hath brought into the world, we shall speak of Him in our next Discourse.

XXVI.
Felicity after this life.
For the attaining whereof, we must enquire after the true Religion.

y So the
Stoicks out
of *Plato*, as
Clemens
notes *St. S.*

SUMMA.

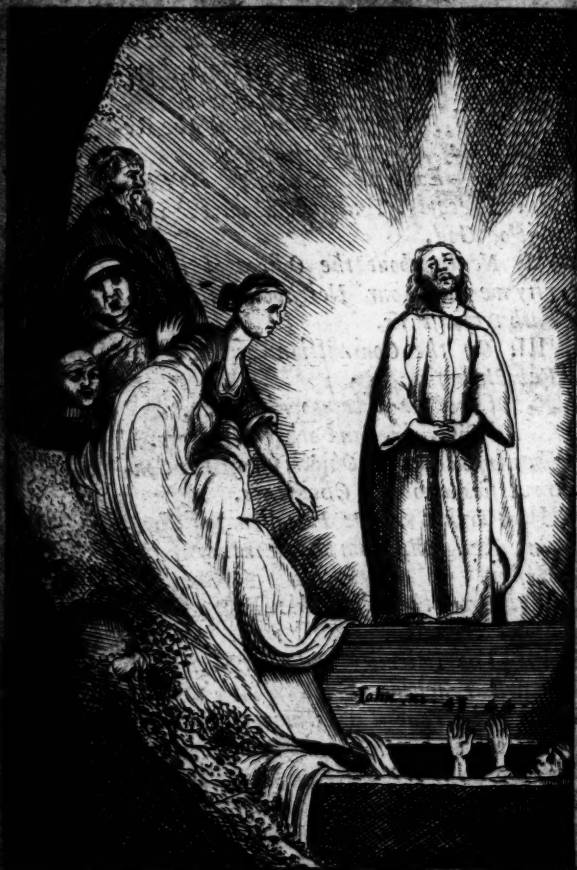


S U M M A R I E

Of the II. Discourse.

- I. **T**hat Jesus once lived.
- II. That He was put to an ignominious death.
- III. Yet after death was worshipped by understanding men: For no other cause but his Miracles.
- IV. Which Miracles could not be ascribed to nature.
- V. Nor were they Impostures.
- VI. Nor the works of an evil Spirit.
- VII. And, if of a good Spirit, then from God. And to what end.
- VIII. For testimony to the Gospel.
- IX. The Miracle of the Resurrection confirmed by sufficient Witnesses.
- X. What they gained by their Testimony to the truth: Nothing but persecution here,
- XI Answer to an Objection, of the Impossibility of the Resurrection.
- XII. The Resurrection granted, evinceth the truth of Jesus doctrine.
- XIII. That the Christian Religion excells all other.
- XIV. The

- XIV. *The Excellency of the Reward proposed.*
- XV. *Object. answered concerning the Re-stitution of Bodies dissolved.*
- XVI. *The Excellent Sanctity of Christian Precepts. And first, about the worship of God.*
- XVII. *Next, about the Offices of Humanity we owe to our Neighbour, though he hath trespass'd us.*
- XVIII. *Of the Conjunction of Male and Female.*
- XIX. *Of the use of temporal Goods.*
- XX. *Of Swearing and other Precepts.*
- XXI. *Answer to an Objection of the Controversies amongst Christians.*
- XXII. *Further of the Excellency of Christian Religion, from the eminency of the Master.*
- XXIII. *From the admirable Propagation of this Religion.*
- XXIV. *The Infirmary and Simplicity of the first Teachers of it.*
- XXV. *The great Impediments to hinder men from embracing and from professing it*
- XXVI. *A defence of the former proofs,*



Rise Lazarus! loe how thy Sisters mourn!
 Hee comes, but in his Sheet, & must return:
 Christ left his Shroud behind, then climb'd the skies,
 And Lazarus was rais'd, but Christ did rise.

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II. DISCOURSE.

Of CHRIST, his Miracles and Doctrine.

THat Jesus of Nazareth some-
time lived in Judea, Tiberi-
us being Emperor of Rome; not
onely the Christians dispersed
over all the world, do most
constantly profess: but the Jews also,
that are now, and that have ever written
since those times. The same is testified
by the Pagans too, that is, the Writers
neither of the Jewish nor of the Christi-
an Religion, as (a) Suetonius, (b) Tac-
itus, the younger * Pliny, and many af-
ter them.

I.
That Jesus
lived once.

a Claud. 2.
b Lib. 1.
* Ep. 97.

That the same Jesus, by Pontius Pilate
President of Judea, was affixed to the
Cross, all Christians likewise, although
it might seem ignominious to the ser-
vants of such a Lord, confess. The
Jews confess it too, though not igno-
rant, how for that reason, because their
Ancestors were the Authors of Pilate's
act,

I.
That he was
put to
death.

(c) Vid. Ep.
pib. in Tef-
farest.

act, they lie under the most heavy odium of all Christians, under whose power they live scattered in several places. And the Pagan writers, whom we have mentioned, have recorded the same. Yea, a long time after, were extant the (c) Acts of Pilate, wherein twas evident: unto which Acts the Christians did sometimes make their Appeal. Neither was this ever questioned by *Julian*, or other opposers of Christianity. So that, no History can be imagined more certain than this, approved by the united testimonies, I say not of particular men, but of whole nations, otherwise disagreeing from one another.

III.

Yet after death was worshipped by understanding men. For no other cause but his miracles.
d Chrysost.
ad 2 Cor. 7.

This being thus, yet we see him to be worshipped as Lord, through the Regions of the world (d) farthest distant: not in our age only, or the ages last past, but in the most antient times, even till we come to that time immediate after the thing it self was done, that is, under the Empire of *Nero*: wherein, a great number of the Worshippers of Christ were martyr'd for that profession, as, *Tacitus* and others testifie. Amongst which worshippers alwayes were very many that wanted neither judgement nor learning: namely, (to say,

say nothing of the *Jews*) (e) *Sergius* the Governor of *Cyprus*, (f) *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, (g) *Polycarpus*, (h) *Iustin* (i) *Irenaeus*, (k) *Athenagoras*, (l) *Origen*, (m) *Ter tullian*, (n) *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and many more. Who being men of such excellent parts, why they should devote themselves to the worship of a man, put to an ignominious death, especially being almost all bred up in other Religions, nor were allured to the Christian by any temptation either of honour or profit; there can be no account given, but only this, that by diligent inquisition, such as becomes prudent men in a business of the greatest concernment, they had found the same was true and verified by sufficient witnesses, which was spread abroad of his miraculous work: as, of the sick healed by a word only of his mouth; and openly, in grievous and inveterate diseases; of sight restored to the man that was born blind; of the loaves multiplied more than once to feed many thousands; which were witnesses thereof: of dead men raised again to life, and many more of the same nature. And this Fame sprang from so certain and undoubted an Original, that, as the *Hebrews* in their *Talmud* openly

con-

e A. 13. 12
f A. 17. 24
g Martyr
An. 169.
h Scripsit
An. 142.
i Flor. 182.
k Flor. 180.
l Flor. 230.
m Celeber
208.
n Circa i-
dem temp.
Euseb.

o Benjarr. in
Itinerar o.

o Apud Orig.
l. 2. Credidi-
sti eum esse
Dei filium,
ideo quod

claudos &
cecos sanavit.

p Apud Cyr.
lib. 6.

I V.

Which mi-
racles could
not be ascri-
bed to na-
ture.

confess ; so (o) *Celsus* and (p) *Julian*,
when they wrote against the Christians,
had not the boldness to deny, some Mi-
racles were wrought by the hand of
Christ.

Now it is clear as the Sun, that those
works were not done by natural force;
both because they are called Miracles or
Prodigies ; and because by the force of
nature it is impossible , that by a word
of the mouth only , or a touch of the
hand , grievous diseases should be cu-
red, and that upon the sudden. Again,
if those works might have been in some
sort referred to natural efficacy , cer-
tainly, They that were the profest ene-
mies either of Christ himself living on
the earth, or of the Gospel he left be-
hind him, would have told us so long
since.

V.

Nor were
they impo-
stures.

q. 11. 26. 26.
Luke 12, 1.

By an Argument of Kin to the for-
mer, we collect, They were not like unto
Impostures done in appearance only: be-
cause most of the works were done in
view of the (q) people, and of many learn-
ed men among the people, such as had wit-
enough, and malice enough to observe
all the actions of Christ with curiosity.

whereto

whereto we add, that the like words were often repeated, and the effects not momentaneous but permanent. These things being duely weighed, it clearly follows (which the Jews also confess) these works proceeded from some vertue more than humane, that is, from some spirit either good or evil.

VI.

But from an evil spirit these works proceeded not, is hence proved, because the Doctrine of Christ for confirmation whereof the works were done, is the overthrow of evil Spirits, whom it forbids us to worship; and draws us away from all pollutions wherewith the evil Spirits are delighted. And by experience we see, wheresoever the Doctrine is once received, the worship of Devils and *Magick Arts do forthwith vanish, and the one true God is served with detestation of the Devils; whose power and force was broken by the coming of Christ, as (s) Porphyry himself acknowledgeth. Neither is it credible, that any evil Spirit would be so imprudent to effect such things, and that very oft, whereby no honor, no profit could redound unto himself, but on the contrary very much incommodity and disgrace. And it no way becomes the wisdom

Nor the works of an evil Spirit.

* AB. 19. 19.

1. Apud Euseb. Prepar. 5. 1. Ex quo Jesus coli captus est, publicam Deorum opem nemo sensit.

wisdom of God neither, nor his goodness, to believe he would permit any cunning Devil to impose upon and deceive men, in whom was found no guile and that feared him; such as were the first Disciples of Christ, as both the unblamableness of their Conversation, and the many calamities endured by them, only, for conscience sake, doe evidently declare.

VII.

And if of
a good spirit, then
from God,
and to
what end.

But if you say the works of Christ proceeded from good spirits yet inferiour to God, you do acknowledge, They pleased God, and pertained to the honour of God: because the good spirits do nothing but what is acceptable in the sight of God, and tendeth to his Glory (to say nothing of this, that some of Christs works do plainly point at God the Author, as the restoring of sundry dead men to life again.) But now, God neither doth miracles, nor suffers them to be done without cause. For, this is the part of a wise Law-maker, not to recede from his own Laws without some reason, and that of moment.

VIII.

For testimony to
the Gospel.

Now there can be no other reason given why these things were done, beside

that

that alleaged by Christ, the bearing witnesses to his doctrine. Neither could any other cause be conceived in the mind of the Beholders. Amongst whom, there being many (as we said) of a pious Disposition, that God intent was to impose upon them, is impiety to believe. And upon this ground very many of the *Jews* that lived about the time of Jesus, even they that could not be induced to omit any part of (t) *Moses* Law, (the (u) *Nazarens* and the *Ebionites*) did nevertheless honor *Jesus* as a Master sent from heaven.

1st Vid. Act. 15. Ro. 15. u^o V. Epiphani. Act. 24. 5.

As from the Miracles wrought by Christ in his life time, so we argue from that greatest of Miracles (after his Cross, death and Burial,) his Resurrection, and return unto life again. For, this, not only is true, but as the principal foundation of their faith, the Christians of all times and places build upon: which had been impossible, had not the first Teachers of Christian faith certainly perswaded their auditors, that the thing was so done. Neither could they have thus perswaded men indued with any judgement, unless they did affirm themselves eye-witnesses. Without which affirmation, no man, though of mean understanding, would have

IX.
The Miracle of the Resurrection, confirmed by sufficient witness.

x Etiam Gel-
si. vid. Orig.
l. 1.
y 1 Cor. 15.
9.

have given any credit to them, especially at those times, when they must purchase their belief so dearly, at the cost of the greatest dangers and persecutions. That this was affirmed by them, with great constancy, even their own books and the writings of other men (x) do shew. Yea, 'tis in their books, They appealed to the testimony of y five hundred witnesses. It is not a custom, lyars use, to appeal to witnesses so many : nor can it be that so many should conspire to bring in any evidence to falshood. Had there been no other witnesses but those first most famous Propagators of the Christian Doctrine, their testimony had been sufficient.

X.
What they
gained by
their testi-
mony to
the truth.
Nothing
but perse-
cution here.

No man is wicked *gratis* and for nothing, Honour they could not hope for by the lie, seeing all preferment was in the hands of Pagans or Jews; from both they received nothing but ignominy and reproach : not riches, seeing on the contrary, this profession was punished with confiscation of their goods, if they had any; and without that, they could not give themselves to the Ministry of the Gospel, unless they did put off the care of their temporal estate. Nor could any other

conveniencies of this life prevail with them to tell a lie, since by the very preaching of the Gospel, they exposed themselves to labours, to hunger, to thirst, to stripes, to prison. A naked fame among their own party was not *tanti*, not of so much reckoning, that therefore simple men, and whose life and doctrine were far from pride, should undertake so great a burden of calamities. Nor could they at any hand hope for so great a progress of their doctrine, obstructed both by the general averſation of men intent onely upon their profit, and by the authority of Rulers every where, unless by some divine promise. Add thereunto, that this fame, what ever it was, they could not imagine would be of any long continuance, when (God on purpose hiding his counsel from them about this) the end of the whole world they waited for as near (τ) approaching ; which their own and the writings of the after-Christians make most manifest. It remains then, that they be said to have told a lie in defence of their Religion : which, if we weigh the matter in an equal balance, is impossible to be said. For either they did in their hearts believe the Religion to be true, or they did not believe. Had they

2 Vid. 1.
Th: 4. 15. 16.
1 Cor. 13.
52.
Tertul. de
Monog. quomodo
magis nunc
tenetur in colo
lesto factum
sit.

they not believed it true, yea, had they not believed it exceeding good, never would they, omitting other Religions more safe and more honoured, have chosen this. And though true, they would not have profest it, had they not believed the profession to be necessary; especially foreseeing easily, what they quickly learned by sad experience, that this Profession drew after it an infinite train of deaths and persecutions: which to occasion without just cause, was no less crime than Homicide. But if they believed their Religion to be true, yea, and the best Religion under Heaven; and necessary to be profest also after their Masters death; surely this could in no wise come to pass, had their Masters promise of his Resurrection been of none effect. For this (a) frustration had been enough to have beaten out of any sensible mans head, and to have made abortive, the Faith that was preconceived. Again, all Religion, above all, the Christian, (b) prohibiteth lying and false witness, especially in things Divine. They could not therefore by love of Religion, much less of such a Religion, be moved to tell a lie. Moreover, They were men of so pure a life, that their Adversaries could

a Vid. Chrys.
sof. ad

1 Cor. 1.

in fine.

b Mar. 12.

26.

Joh. 8. 44.

45.

Eph. 4. 25.

Rom. 9. 1.

could not spot them : to whom nothing is objected, but (c) simplicity alone; and she's of so fair a nature, that she cannot make a lye. Lastly, There was not a man of them; that suffered not most grievous persecutions, for that profession of Jesus raised from the dead : many of them for their testimony were rewarded with most exquisite torments. But now, that any one with his sense about him, should suffer such things for an opinion, that indeed is possible; but for a false thing which he knows to be false, to suffer such extremities, not some one man, but very many for whose interest it is not that credit be given unto it, this is plainly incredible. The Christians, we are sure, were not mad. Their Lives and their writings shew they were sober men. And what we have spoken of those first, the same is also true of *Paul*, who (d) declared openly, that he had seen Christ reigning now in heaven, yet wanted he none of the Jewish (e) learning, nor was he out of hope of honours, if he had gone forward in his Fathers steps : But, on the contrary part, he could expect nothing but hatred of his Kindred, Travels over all the world, difficult, perillous, and laborious, and last of all Death and Infamy :

D

Verily

c Celsus apud Origen. l. 1.]

1 Cor. 15. 9
2 Cor. 12. 4
e Acts 22. 3.
Vide Epist.
1 ban.

XI.

Answer to
an objecti-
on concern-
ing impos-
sibility of
the Resur-
rection.

f Plat. de
Rep. 20. Val
Max. 1. 8.
Plut. Symp.
9. 3.
Macrob. 1.
nit. 80m.
g Apud
Plin. 7. 32.
h Plin. 7. 2.
i L. de sera
vindic.

Verily no man can deny Faith to such testimonies, unless he say, The thing it self is like those that imply a contradiction, impossible to be done; which cannot be said in our case. It might indeed, if one should affirm, the same man alive and dead at the same time. But that a dead man should be restored to life, by his efficacy, who at first gave life to man, why this should be accounted impossible there is no cause. Nor have wise men believed it impossible, For *Plato* hath written the same of (f) *Er*, the *Armenian*; *Heracledes Ponticus* (g) of a certain Woman; *Herodotus* of (h) *Aristaus*; *Plutarch* (i) of another. Which, whether true or false, shew that learned men have thought a resurrection no impossible thing.

XII.

The Resur-
rection
granted
evinced
the truth of
Jesus do-
ctrine.

Now if it be neither impossible for Christ to have returned to life, and evidenced by sufficient Testimonies, (where with the Jewish Master *Becchai* being convinced acknowledged the truth thereof) and the same Christ, as both his own followers and other men confess, published a new Doctrine, as by Divine Authority; it truly follows, that the doctrine is true: because it cannot consist neither

neither with the justice nor wisdom of God, in so excellent a way to honour him, who had been guilty of falshood in so great a matter : especially when he himself before his death, foretold his disciples of his death, and the kind of death, and his Resurrection also, adding these things should so come to pass, for a (k) confirmation of his Doctrine.

k Jo. 17.
Lu. 24. 46.

47.

XIII.

That the
Christian
Religion
excells all
oth.

The former Arguments are drawn from the matter of fact, let us now come to those that proceed from the nature of the Doctrine. Surely; either all the worship of God is wholly to be rejected, (which he will never agree to, who believes there is a God, and one that hath care of the world ; and who considers man, endued both with excellent understanding, and with a power to choose moral Good and Evil, and therefore having in himself matter, as of Reward, so of Punishment likewise) or else this Religion is to be admitted not only for the evidence of Fact, whereof we have spoken, but also for the things intrinsic, and of the very nature of the Religion it self. For no other in any age or nation can be produced, either more excellent in reward, or more perfect in pre-

cepts, or for the manner whereby it was commanded to be spread, more admirable.

XIV.

The excellency of the reward proposed.

Wid. Deur.

& Heb. 8.6.

Matth.

22.23.

Act. 23. 8.

Animam

putabam i-

terire cum

corporibus.

Hieron. de

Sadd.

n Chrysoft.

1 Cor 10.25

ein Plat.

Phad. Hoc

scito spem

mibi esse

veniarum

me ad viros

bonos:quod

tamen non

nimum af-

firmo verim.

p Tuscul 1.

q Epist. 64.

Et fort. ff.

quem put-

mus perisse,

premis-

sus est.

To begin with the Reward, that is, the end proposed to Man; because that (as we use to say) is first in intention, though last in Execution; *Moses* in the Institutes of the *Judaick* Religion, if we regard the expresse Covenants of the Law, promised nothing above the good things (*l*) of this life, a fruitful land, plentiful store, victories over enemies, long and healthful age, hopeful posterity. What is beyond these, is veiled under shadows, or to be collected by wise and difficult ratiocination. For which cause many Professors of the *Mosaic* law, namely the *Sadduces*, (*m*) renounced all hope of good things to be attained after this life. Among the *Grecians*, who received their learning from the hands of the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*, They that conceived any hope of another life after the end of this, speak of it with much (*n*) hesitancy, as appears in the dissertations of (*o*) *Socrates*, in the writings of (*p*) *Tully* (*q*) *Seneca*, and others. And when they sought Arguments for it, they found very little of certainty. For what they

they alledge, most of it holds no better for men than (r) beasts. This being observed by some others, it is not much to be admired, if they devised, a transmigration of souls from men into beasts, from beasts into men. And this again being built on no certain testimonies or arguments, and yet, it being clear that some end was proposed to man, others were inclined to say, that vertue is (t) reward to it self, and a wise man is happy enough even when he is tormented in the Bull of *Phalaris*. But this also, and not without cause, displeased others, who were sensible enough, that where dangers, incommodities, torments and death, are, there felicity, especially the highest, cannot dwell, unless men could content themselves with a sound of words without any reality. And therefore these men placed the supreme good and the end of man in such things as bring pleasure to the senses. But this Opinion too, is by very many, and that by sound arguments refuted, as an opinion that extinguisheth all honesty; some sparks or seeds whereof we have, raked up in our minds; and degradeth man, born and created for higher things, into the ranks of brutish Creatures, which with their down-cast

*Ullud
Quod se
mouet e-
ternum est.
v. LaB. l.
7. c. 8.
U. Brach
manes o-
lim &
nunc quon-
que: à qui-
bus hausit
Py bago-
ras & e-
jus Schola
t. V. Tus-
cul. 2. &
LaB. l. 3. c.
27. Augu-
stine ep. 32*

looks regards nothing but what is earthly. In so many doubts and by-waies man-kind went astray in that age, when Christ brought into the world the true knowledge of the end, promising his followers after this life, a life not only without death, without pain and trouble, but attended also with joy unspeakable: and that, not only to a part of Man, that is, his Soul; of whose hopeful felicity after this life, was extant partly some conjecture, partly tradition; but also to the body: with a great deal of reason, that as the body for the Divine Law, often suffers hurts, tortures, and death, so it should at last be partaker of the Repensation. Now the joys which are promised, are not vile, as banquets, which the gross Jews hope for after this life; and the pleasures of the Bed, which the (f) *Mahometans* promise to themselves: These are proper to this frail life, Remedies of mortality; the former for the conservation of particulars, the latter for the propagation of their kind: But the delights of the life to come, are perpetual vigour of body and more than Star-like Beauty; in the Soul perfect understanding, even of God and his providence, and of what now
lies

lies hid : a Will quiet, and taken up with the fruition of God especially, and with the admiration and praise of him : briefly all things better and greater far than can be conceived by comparison of the best and greatest things we know in this world.

Here besides the Objection answered afore another is wont to be opposed, as if it were impossible that the Bodies of men once dissolved should be framed again. But this is not grounded upon any reason. For when as most of the Philosophers agree, that in all transmutations of things, the matter still remains, capable of divers forms, who can say, that either God is ignorant in what places, how distant soever, the parts of that matter are, which pertained unto any humane body ; or that he wanteth power to reduce and recompose the dispersed particles, and to do that in his sphere, which we see Chymists do in their furnaces and vessels, collect the congenerous parts of divided nature ? Neither are there wanting in natural things examples to shew how bodies after various changes are restored to their original form, as we understand by the

XV.
An Objection answered concerning the restitution of bodies once dissolved.

seed of Trees and living Creatures. Nor is that knot which many tye insoluble concerning humane bodies converted to the food of wilde beasts or cattle, who, being thus fed, become after food for Man. For the greatest part of what we eat is not changed into the substance of our body, but goes to excrement or the accessions of the body, such as are flegm and choler; and of that which is nutritive, much is spent by diseases, by the internal heat, by the ambient ayr. This being thus. God, who by his providence so keeps the kinds of mute Creatures, that none of them perisheth, can doubtless by a singular care watch over humane bodies, that whatsoever thence goes to the food of other men, may no more be turned into their substance, than poysons or medicines: And the rather, because it is evident as it were by nature, that mans flesh was not given for mans food. If it be not so, but somewhat which was added to the latter body, must again be taken from it, yet will not this make a body not the same; for even in this life happens a greater change of particles. Yea, and the (x) Butterfly is in the worm, and the substance of herbs or wine in some very little,

* Vid. Plin.

l. 10. & 11.

c. 32.

little Quantity, whence they are again raised up to their former magnitude. Wherefore, seeing this, and much more may be commodiously alledged, we have no cause to account the restitution of a dissolved body among things impossible, seeing also learned men, (y) Zoroaster among the *Chaldeans*; almost all the (z) *Stoicks*, and among the *Peripateticks* (a) *Theopompus* believed it not only possible, but that it should indeed come to passe.

y Vid. Clem.
Strom.
z Nath.
Carp. ntar
a Diog.
Lac. t. fult.

The second thing wherein Christian Religion excels all other, that are, or have been, or can be imagined, is the exceeding sanctity of Precepts both in things pertaining to the worship of God, and the rest. The *Pagan Rites* almost all the world over, as *Porphry* (b), shews at large, and the *Sea-voyages* of our times do confirm, were full of cruelty. For in most places, the custome was to appease their Gods with humane (c) bloud a custome, which neither the *Grecian Learning*, nor the *Roman Laws* took away. And those most sacred Mysteries either of *Ceres*, or *Liber pater*, were most full of all obscenity, as appeared after the veil of their secrecy was taken off:

XVI.
The excellent sanctity of Christian precepts. And first about the worship of God.
b De abstinent. unde Cyril. 4.
com. Jul.
c De Britannis Vid. Plin. 36. 1.

d In Pro-
reptico.
e Arnobius
maximè,

f Martial.
ep. 1. Gel.
18. 13.
Val. Max.
2. 10.

g Jo. 4. 24.
h Rom. 12.
1.
i Ro. 7. 28,
29.
Phil. 3. 3.
k 1 Cor. 5.
8.
l 1 Cor. 10.
16.
Heb. 12. 4.

which *Clemens* (d) *Alexandrinus*, and o-
thers (e) largely declare. Moreover the
daies consecrated to the honour of their
Gods, were celebrated with such specta-
cles, as *Cato* (f) was ashamed to be present
at. Now although the *Judaick* Religion
had in it nothing unlawful or undecent,
yet to keep the people who were prone to
Idolatry from departing from the truth,
it was encumbered with many precepts of
such things, as of themselves were nei-
ther good nor evil: namely slaying of
beasts, Circumcision, the exact rest of
the Sabbath, and the Interdiction of
sundry sorts of meats. Some whereof
the *Mahometans* have borrowed, adding
to them the prohibition of wine. But
the Christian Religion teacheth to wor-
ship God the purest Spirit, with spiritual
Purity, (g) and with such works (h) as of
their own nature, without any com-
mand, are most fit to be done. So, it
commandeth not the flesh (i) to be cir-
cumcised, but the lusts of the flesh: not
to cease from all work, but that which
is (k) unlawful: not to offer unto God the
blood, or fat of beasts, but if need be,
to sacrifice our own blood (l) for a testi-
mony to his truth: and to believe, what
we give of our Estates to the poor

is given to (m) God : not to abstain from certain kinds of meats and drinks, but to use both with that moderation, (n) which is convenient for our health ; and sometimes, by fasting (o) to subdue the body to the soul, that it may be the better raised to the things above. But the chief part of Religion is manifestly placed in a pious (p) confidence, whereby we, being composed to faithful (q) obedience, rely wholly upon (r) God, and without doubting (s) believe his promises : whence also (t) hope springs, and sincere love both to God and our neighbour, so that we observe his Laws, not (u) servilely, for fear of punishment, but to please him, and have him, according to his infinite Goodness, our (x) Father and Rewarder. Farther we are commanded to (y) pray ; not that we may obtain riches and honours, and other secular things that have proved hurtful to those that have most desired them ; but first the things which are for Gods Glory : and for our selves, so much of this worlds good as nature wants, leaving the rest to Divine Providence, not overmuch caring, which way God shall dispose of them. But the things which lead unto eternity, those we are taught to ask with all servency ;
that

Ma. 6. 4.

Luk. 32.

34.

Ma. 6. 18.

Joh. 12.

44.

Luk. 11.

26.

M. 1. 23.

21.

Ro. 4. 21.

Heb. 6. 2.

Ro. 18.

15.

Rom. 8.

Ma. 6. 10.

that is, pardon of all our sins past, the aid of the Spirit for the time to come: whereby fortified against all terrors and temptations, we may persevere in the way of Piety unto the end. This is the worship of God in Christian Religion: than which certainly nothing can possibly be devised more worthy of God.

XVII.

Next about the offices of humanity we owe to our neighbour, through he hath trespassed us.

* Pol. 7. 14.

* Senec. ep.

56. c. ira.

1. 7. 8.

* Si qua

ferit tellus

fulvit in

qua mine-

ret aurum,

Hofis erat.

Patron.

Of the same race are the duties required toward our neighbour. The Religion of *Mahomet* born in Arms, breaths nothing but Arms, and by Arms is propagated. So the *Laconian* Institutes most commended among the *Grecians* even by *Apollo's* Oracle, were all directed to puissance in War, as * *Aristotle* notes and blames them for it. But the same *Aristotle* saith amiss himself, That War is natural against *Barbarians*, when the contrary is true, that nature hath constituted amity and society amongst all Men. For what is more unjust (\times) than for single acts of murder to be punished with death; and destructions of whole nations as an honourable achievement to be glorified with triumphes? and yet by what other means but by Wars; oftentimes openly *unjust

(as

(as themselves confess of the War upon(y) *Sardinia* and *Cyprus*) did that so celebrated City of *Rome* rise to so great renown, And indeed generally, as most worthy Historians (x) have related, Robbery out of their own bounds, most nations accounted no dishonour. (a) *Aristotle* and *Cicero* make revenge a part of valour. The (b) *Gladiators* mutual slaughter were to the *Pagans* among their publick plays. To expose (c) their children was ordinary. The *Hebrews* truly had a better Law, a more holy discipline; yet being a people of unruly passions, some of their infirmities were winked at, or indulged, as their eagerness against the seven Nations (d) that had merited extermination. & ad Attic. Odi hominem & odero; utinam ultiscipossem. b Vid. Laet. 1.2. Tertul. de Spect. 19. c Justin. Apol. 2. Tert. Apol. c. 9. d Exod. 34. 11, 12. Deut. 7. 1, 2.

tirpation. Wherewith not contented, they had enlarged their hatred to all people different from themselves; the marks whereof to this day appear in their prayers (e) conceived against the Christians: but to satiate their passion by the (f) judgement of retaliation; to kill the man slayer by the private hand of a Kinsman was permitted by Law. Now the Law of Christ wholly (g) forbids

9 Polyb. Hist. 3. 1. Florus 9. 9. 2 Thucyd. 1. 1. Justin 43. 3. Apud veteres latrocinari adeo in fame non erat, ut & gloria diceretur. Scholiast. in Odyss. T. (s) Nicomach 4. 12. Servile, si contumelia se tractaret, id tolerare. Cic. 2. de V. Liber precum aditum Venetiis forma min. f Lev. 24. 21. Deut. 19. 21. g Ma. 5. 38. 44. 45.

Of the conjunction of Male and Female.

b V. Clem. protrept.

Arnob. 1.4.

Naz 1. cont.

Jul. Theodor. 1. 3.

Lucian de Amor. Naz.

3. cont. Ju.

Tertul. de

Anim. Chris-

tianam sapientiam

preferens

Socraticæ:

Nec nova

inferens d²

monia, sed

vetera des-

pellens nec

adoloscentiam viti-

ans, sed

omni bono

pudoris

informant.

bids to return injury whether in word or deed, lest the malice we reprove in other, we again approve by imitation: It commands to do good, to the good especially; but to the evil too, after Gods example, from whose Goodness we have received Sun, Stars, Ayr, Windes, Showers, as common gifts to all mankind.

The Conjunction of Male and Female, whereby mankind is propagated, is a thing most worthy of the care of Laws. It is no wonder it was neglected by the *Pagans*, when the Gods whom they adored, are famous for their (*b*) Whoredoms and Adulteries. I might for modesty-sake cover in silence the mixtures of Males with Males, according to the examples of their Gods, into whose number was referr'd, upon that score, *Ganymed*, and afterwards *Antinous*. The same impurity is also frequent with *Mahometans*; among the *Chinois* and other Nations it is allowed Lawful. And the *Greek* Philosophers (*i*) seem to have taken pains to impose upon a foul thing a fair and comely title. Those *Greeks*, the most (*k*) eminent of them, having praised a Community of women, what have they else done, but turned the whole city into

into a Common Stews? The very Animals (*D*) some of them observe a kind of conjugal Covenant: how much more should the divinest Creature, Man? That he might not spring out of uncertain seed, and so the mutual affection, that nature hath kindled between the Parent and the children be utterly extinguished. The Hebrew Law forbids indeed all uncleanness, but allows one man many wives, (*m*) and gives the Husband a Right to dismiss his wife, (*n*) for every cause. Which at this day is in use among the *Mahometans*, and was, of old, among the *Greeks* and *Latins*; with so great licence, that their wives were put to use, and lent for a time by the (*o*) *Laconians*, (*p*) & by *Cato*. But the most perfect Law of Christ pierceth to the very root of vices, and condemneth him that hath but assaulted any womans chastity, or deflowered her with his lustful eyes, as (*q*) guilty in the judgement of God, who beholds the heart, of sin, desired though not performed. And seeing all true friendship is perpetual and indissoluble, justly hath it required That Tye to be such, that contains, with the Society of affections, the Communion of bodies (*r*) too, which without question

doth

1 Plin. l. 10. 33.
De palum.
bum castita-
te conjugal.
V. Porphyr.
de non esu
An. 3.
m Deut. 17.
16, 17.
Chrylost.
1 Cor. 11.
Joseph An.
16. Mos no-
bis patrius
eodem tem-
pore plures
habere ux-
ores.
n Deut. 24.
1, 2, 3.
Lev. 21. 14.
o Herodot.
lib. 6.
p Plutarch.
in Cat. &
Lycugo.
q Mal. 5. 18.

1 Mat. 5. 32.
9. 9.

doth more conduce also to the good education of the children. Among the *Pagans* some few Nations were content with single Wives, as the *German* and *Romans*. This is the use of Christians; (f) that the affection which the wife entirely bestows unto her husband may be paid with equal (r) retribution, and that the household government may be more rightly ordered under one Guide, (u) nor diverse Mothers bring in discord among the children.

f Corinth.

7. 4.

Lactant. 6.

eg. Hieron

adv. Ocea.

1 Ammian.

de Persis. li.

23. per libi-

dines varias

raritas dis-

persa torpescit. V. & Salust. in Ingurth. Omnes pariter viles. Et Claud. bel. Gild. Numero languet pietas. * Euphy Androm.

XIX.

Of the use of temporal Goods.

x Diod. Sic.

L. I. Plat.

Lycargo.

To come to the use of such things as are commonly called Goods: we know, Thefts were permitted by some *Pagan* Nations, namely the *Egyptians* (x) and *Spartans*; and they that permitted not the like to private persons, made it their employment in publick; The *Romans* should return to their cottages as the *Roman* Orator (y) once said, if they did restore to every one their own. The *Hebrews* indeed did not such things yet were they permitted to take use (z) of strangers, their disposition being favoured by their law, that promised riches, a, among the rest,

y Cic. apud

LaB. epito-

me. cap. 1.

z Deut. 23.

15.

a Lev. 26. 5.

Deut. 28.

rest, to the observers of it. But the Christian Law not only prohibits (b) all kind of injustice, and that with respect to all persons: but also forbids us to place our study (c) in those perishing things: because our mind is not able with sufficient diligence to attend the care of two severals that do each require the whole man, and oft-times distract us diverse wayes. And again, both in getting and keeping riches there is a sollicitude (d), that draws with it a kind of servitude and vexation, and so corrupteth the delight we hope for out of riches: And the things wherewith nature is contented, are but few and those parable, (e) without much labour or expence. Nevertheless if God shall indulge unto us more than what is necessary, we are not commanded to throw it into the Sea, as some Philosophers (f) have unwisely done: nor to detain it without use; but to supply out of our store the needs of other men, either by giving (g) or lending to them that ask, as it best becomes men who believe themselves to be the Procurators and Stewards of God the Almighty Father. For a benefit well bestowed is Treasure full of good hope, and is neither subject to the violence of thieves (h), nor

b Mat. 7. 12.
Ep. 5. 3.

c Mat. 6.
24. 13. 22.
Luk. 8. 14.
1 Tim. 6. 9.

d Mat. 6. 34.
Phil. 4. 6.

e 1 Tim. 6.
7. 8.

f Habes hoc
de Aristippo
Laert. &
Suid. de
Cratere Phi-
lostratus.

g Mat. 5. 42.
Luk. 6. 35.
1 Tim. 6.
17, 28.
h Mat. 6. 26.

¶ Rom. 15.
25, 26.

¶ Mat. 6. 1.
2.

¶ Mat. 6. 32.

¶ Mat. 7.
26.

nor to the variety of other accidents. Of this true and sincere liberality an admirable example is left us by the Primitive Christians; when even from *Macedonia* and *Achaia* was sent relief to *Palestine* (i), just as if the whole world were but one family. And there is added in the Law of Christ, that caution also, that our beneficence be not deflowred by any expectation of recompence (k) or glory: The gift loseth its reward with God, if beside God it look at any other repensation. Now that no man may, as the manner is, cover his renacity with this pretext, a fear, lest himself in his old age, overtaken by some calamity should have need of what he is required to give in Alms, our Law promiseth a special care (l) for such as keep those precepts: and to cherish their confidence reminds them of Gods Providence (m), conspicuous in feeding wilde beasts and cattel, and in adorning the herbs and flowers. Now it were an unworthy thing to disbelieve so good, so powerful a God, as an ill Debtor, nor to trust him longer than we hold possession of a pledge.

XX

Other Laws forbid perjury, but the Christian

Christian Law requires us to abstain from swearing (o) altogether, without necessity: and to be such punctual keepers of our word and lovers of truth in all our speech, that there may be no need to exact an oath from us at all. Briefly there can be nothing found out, either in the *Grecian* Philosophies, or in the sentences of the *Hebrews* or other Nations, that is excellent, but it is comprehended here and established by Divine Authority: namely, concerning Modesty (p) and Temperance, and Goodness, and discreet Behaviour; concerning (q) Prudence; the office of Magistrates (r) and Subjects; of Parents (s) and children; of Masters and Servants; and of married Persons, one toward another: but especially touching vices to be shunned, which by a fair shew of vertue deceived most of the *Greek* and *Romans*, to wit, the desires of Honours and Glory r. Lastly the sum of all Precepts admirable for the solid brevity, is this: To love (u) God above all things, and our Neighbour as our selves; that is, to do to another what we would have done unto our own selves (x).

Of swearing and of other precepts.

Mat. 5.

33.

1 Pet. 3.

2.

q Mat. 10.

16.

r 1 Tim. 2.

2.

s Co. 3. 20.

21.

1 Mat. 1.

4.

u Mat. 9.

18.

x Luk. 6.

31.

Happily some may here oppose against the excellency of Christs Doctrine, which we

Answer to
an Objec-
tion of
the Con-
troversies
amongst
Christi-
ans.

we command, the great Difference of Opinions among Christians, whence is sprung also a multitude of Sects. But our Answer's ready: That the same accident befalls almost all Arts whatsoever, partly through the imbecillity of humane Understanding, partly because judgement is overswayed by affection. Yet are those variety, of Opinions wont to consist within the bounds of certain truths, agreed on, whence arguments are drawn, in disputation of the Questions. As in the Mathematicks it is disputed, whether a Circle may be quadrated; it is agreed on all hands; that equal parts being taken away from equals, the Remainders are equal: The like wee see in Physicks, Medicine, and other Arts. So also that discrepance of opinions amongst Christians could not spoil the Harmony of the principal points, that is, the agreement in those Precepts from which we have especially taken estimation of Christian Religion, the certainty whereof is apparent in this, that whosoever in the heat of their odious quarrels seek out matter of difference, do not proceed so far as to deny those things commanded by Christ; no not they who will not compose their life after that Rule: And

If any one will be so absurd as to contradict them, he must be numbred with the Philosopher, that denied the whiteness of Snow. For as these are refelled by sense, so are they by the consent of all Christian nations, & of the books written by the Primitive Christians, and their immediate successors, and the following doctors of the Church, even such as sealed the faith of Christ with their blood, what all these acknowledge to be the doctrine of Christ must be accounted so by every upright Judge, as we believe *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and other Socratists concerning the doctrine of *Socrates*, the School of *Stoicks* in those things which their Master *Zeno* taught.

The third point wherein we said Christian Religion excel all other, which are or may be devised, is the manner whereby it was delivered and propagated. Where, first we must look upon the Author of the Religion. The Authors of the *Grecian* wisdom confessed themselves the uncertainty of their doctrines, saying, Truth was as it were drowned in a(y) deep well, & our mind, like the night-owl to the Suns light is (z) dimfighted to behold things Divine. And none of them, but was some

XXII.
Farther of
the excellency of
Christian
Religion
from the eminency of
the Master.
y *Demo-*
crit. apud
Cit. in A-
cad.
z *Arist.*
2 *Met. 1.*

a *Socratis*
laudatiss-
simi ira-
cundiam.
Porphyrii
verbis no-
tat. Cyril. 6.
adv. Jul.
b Plato.
Aristip.

some way (a) vicious, either (b for flattery of Princes, or for impure love, or for snarling impudence. All are convinced of envy one toward another by this evident Argument, their contentions about words or things of no moment; & of Coldness in Gods service, for that, when they believed one God, laying him aside, they worshipped others, & such as they believed, to be no Gods, making the custom of the people the rule by which they squared out their Religion. Lastly, of the reward of piety they asserted nothing firmly, as is manifest in that last discourse of *Socrates* before his death. To proceed, *Mahomet* was the Authour of a Religion far & wide dispersed, but he was all his life given over to lust, which his own followers do not deny. And the reward he promised consisting in Feasts & Venery, he gave no assurance it should ere be extant; for his body is not said to have returned to life again, nay, to this hour lies buried at *Medina*. Next for the *Hebrew* Law-giver *Moses*, He was indeed a rare man, but not excused from all blame, seeing with much (c) regret, he at last undertook the Message God sent by him to the King of *Egypt*, and shewed some diffidence (d) of Gods promise about drawing water from the Rock.

c *Ex. 4. 2.*
 10.
 d *Nu. 20. 12.*

Rock, as the *Hebrews* do confess. Neither did he obtain scarce any part of that reward he promised his people by the Law, being vexed in the desert with perpetual seditions, (e) and not entering into the Land of Promise. But, Christ is set forth by his Disciples, without the least spot (f) of sin, and by his enemies is not accused of any fault that can be proved by competent witnesses. What he prescribed to other, he performed himself. For the commands laid upon him by God be faithfully fulfil'd, in all his life most (g) innocent, of injuries and torments most (h) patient, (as he shewed in enduring the Cross) most charitable to all men, even to his enemies, yea to them that cruelly nail'd him to the Cross, at once suffering their malice, and praying God to forgive them. Then, the reward he promised his Followers, himself is said and proved to have attained in a most eminent way. After his Resurrection he was seen, heard, and felt of many: He ascended into Heaven in the sight of the Twelve. That he received supreme Power there, is demonstrated by the Variety of Tongues (i) they had not learnt, and other marvellous Gifts he powred down upon his Followers, according to his

e Exod. 28

f Joh. 8. 46.

g 1 Pet. 2.

22.

h Mat. 26.

50.

i A. 2. 3. 4.

2 Cor. 12.

12.

John 14.

12, 27, 28.

Mat. 16. 17.

his promise (f) before he left them. All which will not suffer us to doubt, neither of his faith, nor of his Power to render us that reward, which he hath promised. And thus have we collected that this religion herein also is eminent above others, because the Master thereof, himself performed what he commanded, and what he promised, himself obtained.

XXIII.
From the
admirable
propagation
of this
Religion.
Vid. Adam
Bremens. &
Helmodum
V. Ad.
Con. uni-
versal.
xV. Oforium
in Lusit.
y Euf. b. 6.
34. Liturg.
Copt.
xV. Er. Alv.
V. Tertul.
Cyp. Aug.
& Con-
cil.
b V. Acost.
& alios de
reb. Amer.

Let us now consider the effects of that Doctrine whereof he was the Author, Which indeed if we mark them well, are of such a nature, that if God hath any care of humane affairs, the doctrine can be believed to be no less than Divine.

It was a thing becoming the Divine Providence, to take care that the best things might be most common, and of largest extent. So is Christian Religion; which we see is taught through all Europe, yea in the utmost recesses of the North (r) and through all (u) Asia, the Islands (x) of the Ocean not excepted; through (y) Egypt also, through Ethiopia (z) and some other parts of (a) Africk; & lastly through (b) America too. Nor is it so only in our time, but in former ages, appears by all histories, by the books of Christians,

Christians, by the Acts of Synods, by the antient Tradition still preserved even among *Barbarians*, of the Journeys and Miracles of *S. Thomas* (c) *Andrew* (d) and other Apostles. How far the name of Christ was spread in their times, among the *Britans*, *Germans*, and other remote nations, is noted by *Clemens*, (e) *Tertullian* and others. What Religion is there that can equal the Christian in so large a possession? If you name *Paganism*; you allege one name, not one Religion. For they adored not the same deity; but some the Stars, some the Elements, some the Beasts, some things of no subsistence: neither had they one rule, nor any common Master of their Religion. The Jews indeed are dispersed, but all one Nation, and since the time of Christ their Religion hath received no notable increase. Yea their Law hath been made known more by Christians than by themselves. *Mahumetism* hath enlarged it self into Countries enough, but not alone: for in the same Countries there is a mixture of the Christian Religion, and

c Euseb. in fine 1 Hist. Eccles. & Ruffin. 10. 9 Sepulchrum ejus ap. in terra & are m n del etiã nunc monst. d Euseb. in 3 Origin. ad G. n. e Christum in dicit omni- bus notum gent. Strom. 5. Tertul. adv. Jud. 1. Christi reg- num ubique porrigitur. Irenæus lib. 1. cap. 3. Si- cut Sol in universo mundo vi- nus & idem est. Sic & lumen præ- dicatio ve- ritatis us-

que lucet & illuminat omnes homines qui volunt ad cog- nitionem veritatis venire. Et Orig. ad Ezech. 4. Arnob. 2. Athanas. in Epist. Synod. ap. Theod. 1. 4. c. 3. Chrys. hom. 6. ad 1 Cor. & orat. eggeg. Christum esse Deum.

E in

in some places the Christians are the greater Number, when yet *Mahumetans* are not found in many parts where Christians are.

XXIV.
The infirmity and simplicity of the first Teachers thereof.

Follows now the Consideration, by what hands and Instruments Christian Religion was carried so far, that in this respect also it may be compared with others. We observe how most men are so affected that they easily are drawn after the examples of Princes and great men. And the more, if the examples be strengthened with law and force. Hence had the *Pagan Religions*, hence had the *Mahumetan* their encrease. But the first Teachers of Christian Religion, were not only without Command, but of a very low fortune, Fisher-men, Tent-makers, and of the like condition. And yet by their labours, the Doctrine within about thirty years was propagated not alone through all the parts of the *Roman Empire*, but even to the *Parthians* and *Indians*. Nor at the beginning only, but for three Centuries, by the hands of private men, without any threats, without any temporal encouragements, notwithstanding all the opposition of secular rulers, was this Religion promoted; so that before

before Constantine (g) gave his name to Christianity, this was not the lesser part of the Romans world. The Masters of manners, among the Grecians, were commendable for their other arts, as the Platonists for Geometry, the Peripatericks for natural History, the Stoicks for Sophistry, the Pythagoreans for Musick; not a few of them, as Plato, Xenophon, Theophrastus, were graced with a kind of admirable eloquence. But the first Doctors of Christianity had not the aid of any such Art: their speech was with great simplicity, (h) and without alluring Ornaments, containing naked Precepts, Promises, Threats; which having not of themselves an efficacy equal to such great progresses, we must needs conclude either miracles, or the secret assistance of God prospered their work, or both

g Jam su-
evo Tert.
dixerat. 2 A-
pol. Hester-
ni sumus &
vestra omnia
implevimus,
urbes insulas,
castella, mu-
nicipia, con-
siliabula, ca-
stra ipsa, tri-
bus, decurias,
palatium, Se-
natum forum;
Sola vobis
relinquimus
Templa.
h Prudenter
id notatum.
Chrysost. 1.
ad Cor. 1.
17.

To which consideration add that the first Disciples and Followers of those Christian Doctors had not mindes unprepossessed of certain former Religions, and therefore ductile and easie to be changed after a new form, as they that

XXV.
The great
impedi-
ments to
hinder men
from em-
bracing the
Christian
Religion.

to deter them from professing it.

first admitted *Mahomer's* Law, much less prepared by any previous disposition or institution, as the *Hebrews* were by Circumcision, & the Knowledge of one God, disposed to the receiving of *Moses* Law: but on the contrary they were pre-ingaged to opinions & (that second nature custom, repugnant to those new Doctrines; having been bred up, and by the authority of their countrey-Laws, and of their parents confirmed in *Pagan* Idolatries, or Jewish Ceremonies. To this obstruction was added another as great, that is, most grievous sufferings, which presented themselves to the Professors at the very entrance of Christianity, to be endured or fear'd for that cause. For seeing humane nature is abhorrent from such evils, it follows, that the causes of such evils, are not undertaken without much reluctancy. The door of preferment was long shut against the Christians, the way lay open to sequestration and exile. These were lighter matters. They were condemned to the Mines, they were afflicted with torments, the most cruel that could be invented, the death often; so that as the Writers of those times do testifie, by no famine, by no war, by no pestilence, was a gre

ter multitude of men consumed at one time. Neither were the ways of death vulgar, but burnings (*i*) alive, Crosses, and punishments of that sort, which without greatest horror we cannot read or think upon. And this cruelty, that continued without any long breathing spaces (and those intervals not every where) till about the Reign of *Constantine* in the *Roman Empire*, else-where longer, was so far from diminishing the Christians, that on the contrary, their blood was compared to seed, so fast did they grow up again after the cutting down. Here also let us compare with the Christian other Religions. The *Greeks* and other *Pagans*, accustomed to vaunt and amplify what was their own, number some few, who for their Doctrine suffered death, some *Gymnosophists*, *Socrates*, and a few more; Neither can it be easily denied, but these most noted persons were emboldned with a desire of transmitting their fame unto posterity. But among the Christians that suffered death for their Doctrine, were very many *Plebeians*, scarce known to their own Neighbours, Women, Virgins, Youths, who had no appetite nor probable hope of a lasting

i Domitius
Ulpius
nobilis L.C.
libros 7.
scripsit,
quibus pœ-
nis affici
deberent
Christiani.
Laſt. 52.

*k. Ut Massa
candida tre-
centorum Car-
thagine, quo-
rum memoria
in Martyrolo-
gio, Rom. 24.
August. plu-
rimi in Afri-
ca sub Severo;
sub Valeriano
Antiochiz,
& in Arabia,
Cappadocia,
& Mesopo-
tania: In
Phrygia, in
Ponto sub
Maxim, &c.*

Name: And few of them are by name recorded in the *Martyrologies* in respect of the great (k) number that suffered for the cause, being only honoured with a general remembrance. It is worth our observation by the way, that by an easie simulation, as the casting of a little incense upon the Altar, very many might have escaped death; which cannot be said of them, who, whatsoever thoughts they concealed in their hearts, certainly in their open actions complied with the vulgar manners; so that to have dyed for the honour of God, is an honour hardly communicated to any other, but Jews and Christians: nor to the Jews at all, after the times of Christ: In former times, but to a few of them, if they be compared with Christians; more of whom in some one Province suffered for the Law of Christ, than ever did of Jews: all whose patience of that kind is almost reduced to the times of *Manasses*, and *Antiochus*. Wherefore when the Christian Religion, in this part also, so infinitely excels all other, it deserveth to be preferr'd before them. From all, that so great a multitude of every kind & sex, divided by so many places, and who feared not to dy for this Religion, we must

must conclude there was some cause of so great constancy; and no other cause can be imagined, but the light of Truth, and the Spirit of God.

Now if any one be not satisfied with the Arguments hitherto brought for defence of Christian Religion, but desire more cogent reasons, he must remember, that, according to the divers matter, there are divers ways of *proof. One way in the Mathematicks, another in Physics, another in Morals, and yet another in question of fact: wherein verily we ought to stand to un-suspected testimonies; otherwise not onely all use of History is lost, and a good part of medicine; but also all piety *twixt Parents and Children, who are known (m) by no other means. It was the Divine pleasure, that the matter of our belief, to the end our faith might be imputed to us as obedience, should not be so evident as things perceived by sense or demonstration; and yet so evident as is sufficient to make faith, and beget a persuasion in mindes; not pertinacious and

XXVI.

A defence of the former proofs.

* *Arist. ad Nic. l. 1. Exakta enim tractatio, non parvi modo in omni genere querenda est. Id. Metaph. 1. Certitudo Mathematica non in omnibus rebus querenda est. Chalcid. ad Timæum ex Platonis sententia: Credulitatem omnes doctrinas precedere, maxime cum non quorum-*

libet, sed magnorum & prope divinorum virorum sit assertio in Homer. Generis nemo sibi conscius ipse est; exactissimo scilicet indigere.

n Tra&at
 hoc pulchre
 Ch yloft.
 1 C. . 3. in
 p incip.
 Idem ad
 D. metr.
 Quod pre
 e pris non
 creditur, ex
 inertia ad
 implenda
 q. 1. pr.
 e. pra sunt
 venit.

perverse; the Gospel being a touch-
 stone & triall of wits, not pift all hope of
 cure. For seeing the foresaid-Arguments
 have merited the afient of fo many
 honeft understanding men, it is mani-
 feft, the caufe of other mens Incredu-
 lity is not the want of proof, but their
 own perversnefs, unwilling that fhould
 be true, which croffes their lufts (n);
 it being too hard a task for them to de-
 fert the honors and profits of the world,
 as they muft do, if they receive the
 Gospel of Chrift, and submit to his
 precepts. This is the more apparent,
 becaufe many other historical narrations
 they entertain as true; the truth where-
 of depends onely upon authority,
 without any other remaining im-
 preffions of it, fuch as confirm the hi-
 ftory of Chrift, partly by the confeffion
 of the Jews now living, partly, by the
 Chriftian Congregations every-where,
 which could not be without fome caufe.
 And laftly, seeing that fo lafting conti-
 nuance of the Chriftian Religion, and
 the fo large propagation of it can be re-
 ferred to no humane efficacy; it follows,
 that it muft be afcribed to Miracles; or
 if any deny it to have come to paffe by
 Miracles, this very thing, that without

a Mi.

a Miracle such a Doctrine hath received
so great increase and strength, is to be
accounted greater (o) then any Mira-
cle.

o Chrysoſt.
1 Cor. 1
ſine. Aug. 1
de C. D. lib.
22. cap 5.

III. DIS-



John 21. 25.
 And there are also many other things which Jesus did,
 the which if they should be written every one, I suppose
 that even the World it selfe could not contain the Bookes
 that should be written. Amen.

A
DISCOURSE
FOR THE
AUTHORITY
OF THE
SCRIPTURE.

Newly translated by C. B.



LONDON,
Printed by S. G. and B. G. for
William Lee, 1669



III. Discourse.

*For the Authority of
Scripture.*

THE SUMMARIE.

I *FOR the Authority of the Books of
the New Covenant.*

II. *The Books inscribed with Names,
are genuine.*

III. *Books at first doubted of, put out
of doubt.*

IV. *The Books without Name authorized
by the quality of the Writers.*

V. *That these Writers wrote the Truth,
because they knew the things they wrote.*

VI. *And because they would not lye.*

VII. *The Writers were authorized by Mi-
racles.*

VIII. *The Writings contain infallible pre-
dictions.*

IX. *God's care of his Servants would not
suffer supposititious Books.*

X. *Ob-*

- X. *Objection of some Books rejected, Answer'd.*
XI. *Objection of impossibilities, Answer'd.*
XII. *And of unreasonableness.*
XIII. *Objection of disagreeing places, Answer'd.*
XIV. *Objection of External Testimonies, Answer'd.*
XV. *Objection of Corruption, Answer'd.*
XVI. *For the Authority of Books of the Old Covenant.*

III. DISCOURSE.

*For the Authority of the
Scripture.*

HE that is perswaded by the Arguments in the former Discourse, or by any other, and believeth the Religion which Christians profess to be true and excellent; to the end he may be instructed in all parts thereof, is to be referr'd to the most antient books containing the same Religion, which we call the Books of the New Testament, or rather of the New Covenant. For 'tis unreasonable to deny, that Christian Religion is contained in those Books, which the Christians own; whereas every Sect, whether good or bad, is worthy of credit, when they affirm, their Religion is found in this or that Book; as we believe the *Mahumetists*, *Mahumet's* Religion is in the *Alcoran*. Wherefore, The Truth of Christian Religion being proved above; and it

I.
For the Authority of
the Books
the New
Covenant.

it being granted, the same Religion is contained in these Books, their Authority is, even by this alone, sufficiently asserted. Nevertheless, if any one require a more special demonstration of it, we will lay for our ground that Rule allowed by all equal Judges; That who-soever will Impugn a writing received through many Ages, he must bring Arguments sufficient to overthrow the credit of that Writing (a): Which if he cannot do, the Book is to be defended, as it were, in the possession of its Authority.

a Baldus in
rubrica de
Fide instru-
mentorum.
Vid. & Gai-
lium l. 2.
obs. 149.

II.

The Books
inscribed
with names
are genu-
ine.

b De pre-
script. adv.
Heret.

We say then, the Writings, of which there is no doubt among Christians, and which bear a certain Name, are that Writer's whose name they carry; because the Primitive Fathers, *Justin*, *Ire-neus*, *Clemens*, and after them others, allege those Books under those very names. Add hereunto, that *Tertullian*(b) saith, the very Original Copies of some Books were extant even in his Time: And that all Churches have received those Books as such, before any general Synods were held: Neither have the *Pagans* or *Jews* ever moved a Controversie as if they were not the Works of those to whom they were ascribed. And

Ju-

Julian (c) also plainly confesseth that they are the Writings of *Peter*, *Paul*, *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, which go under their Names. That *Homer* and *Virgil* are Authors of the Books styled theirs, no man in his right mind doubteth, by reason of the perpetual Testimony of the Latins for the one, and of the Greeks for the other: how much more ought we, concerning the Authors of these our Books, to stand to the testimony of almost all the Nations of the World.

c Exstat Io-
cus Lib. Cy-
rill, 10.

There are indeed some Books in that Volume which we now use, not alike received from the beginning, as the second of *Peter*, the Epistle of *James*, and *Jude*, two under the name of *John* the Elder, the *Apocalyps* and the Epistle to the *Hebrews*: yet so, that they were acknowledged by many Churches, as appears by the antient Christians, who use their Testimonies for sacred. Whence it is credible, the Churches, who had not those Books at first, were ignorant or doubted of them at that time; but afterward upon better information, began to use them after the example of the rest, as now we see is generally done. Nor truly can any good account be given; why any one

III.
Books at
first doub-
ted of, put
out of
doubt.

one should have put those Books upon us, seeing nothing can thence be gathered, But what is abundantly comprehended in the other Books of undoubted Authoritie.

IV.
The Books
without
Name au-
thorized
by the qua-
lity of the
Writers.

There is no reason also, why one should discredit the Epistle to the *Hebrews* for this cause alone, that the writer of it is not known; nor the two Epistles of *John*, nor the *Apocalyps*, for that some doubt whether the Writer of them be *John* the Apostle, or another of that name. For in Writers, the quality rather than the Name is observed. Therefore we receive many Books of History; whose Writers we know not; as of the *Alexandrian* war of *Cesar*, because we perceive the Author, Whoever he was, lived in those times and was present at the actions. So also, seeing the Writers of our Books shew themselves, both to have lived in the first Age, and to have been endued with Apostolical gifts, this may be good satisfaction to us. For, to say these qualities might be feigned, and in other Writings the Names also, is to say a thing incredible; namely, that these persons, who every where press upon us the love of Truth and Godliness, would.

would without any Cause be guilty of the crime of falshood : which is not only detestable among all good men, but was also by the *Roman Laws* (d) punished with death.

d L. falsi nominis.
E. De Con-
nel.
See exam-
ples of that
punish-
ment in the
end of Val-
Max.

V.
That these
Writers
wrote the
Truth, be-
cause they
knew the
things they
wrote.

Wherefore it must be confest, that the Books of the New Covenant were written by them whose names they bear, or by them who were such as they shew themselves : To which if we add that, which is not to be doubted of, that the things which they wrote were known to them, and that they had no design to deceive us ; it will follow, that the things which they have written are true : because all falshood must proceed either from ignorance, or from an evil will. *Mat-
thew, John, Peter, Jude*, were of the company of those twelve whom *Jesus* chose for witnesses of his Life and Doctrine: So that knowledge of what they relate could not be wanting (e) to them. The same may be said of *James*, who either was an Apostle, or, as others will, the next Kinsman of (f) *Jesus*, and by the Apostles constituted Bishop of *Jerusalem*. *Paul* also could not through ignorance be mistaken in those Doctrines which he professeth revealed to

e Joh. 15. 27.
1 Joh. 1. 1.
Act. 1. 21,
22.
f So, many
think, and
Chrysost.
every
where.
See also
to Josephus.

to him by *Jesus* himself reigning in Heaven: nor could he be more mistaken in the things acted by himself, or *Luke* either, his individual Companion (*g*) in his Journeys. The same *Luke* might easily know the things he penned, of the Life and Death of *Jesus*, being born near unto the place, having also travelled through *Palestine*: Where he saith he had conference (*h*) with such as had been eye-witnesses of those affaires. No doubt, other persons also, many beside the Apostles with whom he had friendship, who had been healed by *Jesus*, and had beheld him Dying and Risen again, were then alive. If we give credit to *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* in those matters which happened long before they were born, because we are confident of their diligent enquiry; how much more reasonable is it, to believe that writer who affirms, he had his intelligence from the men that had seen all things with their eyes. *Mark*, 'tis a constant fame, was a faithful companion of (*i*) *Peter*, so that the things he penned are to be accounted of as the dictates of *Peter*, who could not be ignorant of them; not to say, that what he writes

is

is almost all extant in the writings of the Apostles. Neither could the writer of the Apocalyps be deceived in those Visions, which, he saith, were given him (k) from heaven; or he to the Hebrews in the things which he professeth (l) to have learned either from the Spirit of God, or from the Apostles themselves.

k Apoc. i. 1.
& 4. 1.
l Heb. 2. 4.
& 5. 14.

The other thing, we said, that they had no design of deceiving us, is allyed to what we have afore discoursed, when we did make good the belief of Christian Religion in general, and of the History of Christ's Resurrection. Who-soever do refuse witnesses in respect of their ill intent, must alleadge something whereby tis credible the will may be diverted from delivering the truth. But that cannot here be said. For if any object it is their own cause, he must consider, why it is their cause: Surely, not to get any gain, or to shun any peril, when for this profession they lost all commodities, and incurred all dangers. Wherefore, this was not their own cause, but for the reverence of God, which we are sure induceth no man to tell a lye; especially in that business, upon which depends the eternal

VI.
And because
they would
not lye.

Salva-

And op-
posite to ly-
ing. Joh. 14.
17.

Act. 26. 25.

Rom. 1. 25.

2 Thel. 2. 20.

Eph. 4. 15.

Mat. 26.

31. 56.

Mat. 26.

69.

Mar. 14. 66.

Luk. 22. 54.

Salvation of Mankind. So wicked a thing we are forbidden to imagine of them, both by their doctrine every where full of Piety, (*m*) and their Life never charged with any evill deed; no not by their most malicious enemies: who object to them only their simplici- ty, and this is not the mother of falshood. But had they been unfaithfull in the least, they would not have recorded their own faults, unto posterity; name- ly the flight (*n*) of them all in the time of their Master's danger, and Peter's (*o*) three denyals.

VII.

The Wri-
ters, were
autho-
riz'd by mi-
racles.

p See Act
throughout
2 Cor. 12. 22.

On the contrary, their fidelity is ap- proved by illustrious Testimonies of God himself, that is, by Miracles. These were, with great boldness, publicly as- serted by themselves or their Disciples, (*p*) adding the names of persons and places, and other circumstances; so that the verity or falsity of their asseve- ration might by inquisition of the Ma- gistrates, most easily be detected. A- mong which Miracles 'tis worthy ob- servation, what, of the use of Langua- ges, which they had not learned, before many thousands; and of bodily dis- eases, in sight of the people suddenly cured

cured, they have most constantly declared. Nor did it deter them, that they knew, the Jewish Officers, in those times were their deadly enemies,, and the Roman none of their friends : who would have omitted no occasion of disgracing them with any Crime, whom they looked upon as the Authors of a new Religion. But, neither *Jews* nor *Pagans*, in the neareſt times ever durſt deny Miracles to have been wrought by the hands of theſe men. Yea, the Miracles of *Peter*, *Phlegon* the Freed man of the Emperor *Adrian* hath remembred in his (r) Annals: And the Chriſtians themſelves in the Books, wherein they render an account of their Faith to the Emperour, Senat, Prefidents, aſſert (s) theſe deeds as moſt known, and of which there was no place of doubting. And farther they openly affirm, that for ſome Ages a wonder-working virtue endured at their Sepulchers ; being not ignorant, how eaſily their falſhood if they had been falſe might by the Magiſtrates have been refuted, to their ſhame and puniſhment. Indeed, the Prodigies at their Sepulchers were ſo frequent, and the Witneſſes ſo many, that they forced confeſſion thereof even from

Lib. 13.
witness
Origen contra Celsum
2.
This is that
Phlegon
whose reli-
ques we
have de mi-
rabilibus &
de longavis.
Vide Or-
igen & Au-
gustin. de C.
D, 22. 8.

(Vide Cyril.
10. contra
Julian. &
Hieronym.
adv. lib. Vigi-
lant.

from (t) *Porphyrie* himself. Thus much may be sufficient, which we have spoken: But we have other supernumerary Arguments to commend unto us the Authority of the same Books

VIII.
The writings contain infallible predictions.

Mat. 13.

33.

Luk. 10. 18.

Joh. 12. 32.

Mat. 1. 33.

Mat. 28. 20.

Joh. 14. 16.

Mat. 21. 33.

Luke 15. 11.

7. *ibid.* &

Mat. 8. 11.

& 12. 21.

Mat. 10. 17.

Mat. 10.

21. 33. & 23. 34.

b Mat. 23. 38. & 24. 16.

Luke 13. 34. & 21.

24. c Mat. 21. 33. & 24. 20.

For in them are many Predictions of things, which men, of themselves, could not have known; which by the event itself are strangely confirmed: as of the sudden and great Propagation (u) of this Religion, of its perpetual (w) duration, of the rejection thereof by the most part of the (x) *Jews*; and its entertainment among the (y) *Gentiles*: of the *Jews* hatred against the profession of Christianity (z), of the grievous persecutions (a) to be suffered for the same: of the siege and destruction of *Jerusalem* (b), and the Temple, and the extream calamities (c) of the *Jewish* Nation.

IX.
Gods care of his Servants would not suffer supposititious Books.

Moreover, if we be believe God hath a care of humane affairs, and especially of those which pertain to his own honour and worship, it cannot be that he should suffer so great a multitude of men who had no other purpose but his holy

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1st. 9.
Joseph

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service, to be abused with false & deceitfull writings. And besides, being after so many Sects sprung up in Christendom, scarce any one hath been found, which did not embrace these Books, either all or most of them, few excepted which have nothing singular. This is a good Argument to prove, nothing could be opposed against the Books: those Sects hating each other so implacably, that one would gladly (and for that reason) have rejected whatsoever the other had received.

There were I confess among them, who bare the name of Christians, some few, that rejected all of those Books which they saw to be against their particular opinion: namely, they that out of hatred to the *Jews* reproached the *Jewish* Law and their God (*d*) the maker of the world: or on the other side, out of fear of persecutions to be endured by Christians, were willing to lye hid (*e*) under the name of *Jews*, to whom a free (*f*) profession of their Religion was allowed.

X.
Objection
of some
books
rej. & ed,
answer'd,
& Vide Iren.
1. 29. Ter-
tul. cont.
Mar. Epi-
phan. de
cod.
& Vide Gal.
2. 11. & 6.
13, 14.
Phil. 3. 18.
Iren. 1. 28.
Epiphan de
Ebioneis.

1st. 9. 20. & passim. Philo cont. Flac. & de legatione, & Joseph. passim. Tertul Apolog. Sed & Judæi palam lætantes

g Tert. adv.
 Marcion. i.
 Nullam A.
 postolici
 censuram Ec-
 clesiam in-
 venias quæ
 non in Cre-
 atore Chri-
 stianizet.
 b Vide I-
 renzi Epist.
 ad Vict. &
 quod de ea
 in Catalogo
 scribit Hie-
 ronymus.
 Cyprianus
 Conc. Afric.
 Neminem
 judicantes,
 aut à jure
 Communi-
 onis ali-
 quem, si di-
 versum sen-
 serit, amos-
 ventes.
 c Vide Ter-
 tul. adv.
 Marcion. 4.

But these men, in those times, were re-
 nounced (g) by all other Christians
 throughout the world, when yet there was
 a toleration (h) of all dissenting Pious
 brethren, with much patience, accor-
 ding to the Apostles prescript. These
 adulterators of Christianism, the first
 kind of them, I suppose, are sufficiently
 refuted above, when we demonstrated,
 there is one true God, who made the
 world: and verily out of the same
 Books, which they, to seem Christians
 in some sort, receive, namely the Gos-
 spel of *Luke*, (i) it is evident enough,
 That the same God whom *Moses* and the
Hebrews served, by Christ was prea-
 ched. The other kind, the counter-
 feit *Jews*, shall be elsewhere confu-
 ted. But sure, they are strangely immo-
 dest, who slight the Authority of *Paul*,
 then whom none of the Apostles insti-
 tuted more Churches; and of whom so
 many Miracles are related, at the time
 when, as we said afore, there was an
 easie inquisition into the matter of fact.
 Now if he hath done Miracles, what
 reason is there, but that we should be-
 lieve him, both concerning his heavenly
 Visions, & his instructions received from
 Christ? And if he was so dear to Christ,

it is impossible that he should teach any thing displeasing unto Christ, that is, any thing which is false. The only thing they blame in him, namely his doctrine of liberty procured for the *Hebrews* from the rites of old, commanded by *Moses*, he had no cause of teaching that, but Truth alone; for he was himself circumcised (*k*), and of his own accord observed many ceremonies (*l*) of the Law, and for the cause of Christianity both did and suffered many more hard (*m*) and difficult things then the law enjoined, or he had reason to expect by occasion of the Law: which things also he taught (*n*) his Disciples both to do and to suffer. Whence it is evident, he gave nothing to the ears or interests of his auditors, who for one Sabbath day, were taught to bestow every day (*o*) upon the service of God for the small charges in the legal way, to bear the loss of their whole estate (*p*); and instead of the blood of beasts, to sacrifice (*q*) unto God their own blood. Farther *Paul* himself plainly affirms, the right hand (*r*) was given him by *Peter*, *John*, and *James* in token of consent: which had it not been true, he had not dar'd to say, themselves being alive and ready to convince

F 2

him

k Phil. 3. 5.
l Act. 16. 3.
 20. 6.
 21. &c.
m 2 Cor. 11.
 23. & *passim*
n Act. vide
 & 1 Cor. 2.
 3.
 2 Cor. 12.
 10.
o Act. 20. 29.
 Rom. 5. 2.
 12. 12.
 2 Cor. 1. 4, 8.
 2. 4.
 6. 4.
p 1 Thes. 1. 6.
 2 Thes. 1. 6.
 & Act. 2. 46.
 5. 42.
 1 Tim. 5. 5.
 2 Tim. 1. 3.
q 2 Cor. 6. 4.
 12. 10.
 Rom. 8. 36.
 2 Cor. 4. 11.
 Philip. 1. 20
 1 Gal. 2. 9.
r adde 1 Cor.
 15. 11.
 2 Cor. 11. 5.
 12. 11.

him of a lie. Wherefore those persons excluded, who are scarce worthy of the name of Christians, the most manifest agreement of so many other Assemblies in receiving these Books (beside what we have spoken of the Miracles done by the Writers, and of the singular providence of God about things of this sort) ought to satisfie all judicious men, that the things written are worthy of belief (especially, when we are wont to believe other Historians that have no such testimonies) except a valid reason be brought to the contrary, which here is none at all.

XI.
Objection
of impossibilities answered.
Disc. 2.

For, if it be said, some things are related in these Books, which cannot be effected; when as we have shewed afore (§), that there are things impossible to man, which are possible to God; namely such as include in them no repugnance: and in that number are also those prodigious acts, we most admire, and the recalling of the dead to life; this objection vanisheth.

XII.
And of unreasonable-
ness.

Nor are they more to be heard, who say some doctrines are found here dissolvent to right reason. For first, this is resel-

refelled by so great a number of men, excellent in wit, and learning, and wisdom, who have followed the Authority of these Books all along even from the first times. Moreover, all the particulars, declared in the first discourse, agreeable to right reason; as, That God is the onely one, most perfect, of immense power, life, wisdom, goodness; That by him were made all things, which subsist; that his providence is over all his works, chiefly over men; That he is able, even after this life, to render a reward to his obedient servants; That a bridle is to be put upon sensual desires; That there is an alliance of men to men, and therefore it is fit they should love one another; All these, in these Books, you may see most clearly delivered. Beyond these, to affirm any thing for certain either of the nature of God, or of his will, by the sole conduct of humane (r) reason, how unsafe and fallacious it is, we are warned by the many various and dissonant determinations both of Schoolmen and Philosophers. Nor is this to be admired. For, if when they dispute of the nature of their own soul, they fall into far distant (u) opinions, how much more

F 3

must

Mat. II.
27.
Rom. II. 33
34.
I Cor. 2. II.
16.
u Vide Plu-
tarch. l. 4. de
Plac. phil.
Stob. Phys.
c. VI.

*w Tac. An-
nal 6.*

**In Phœd.
in Tim.
Amb. Cui
magis de
Deo quàm
Deo oradam?*

*y Modestin.
l. ult. D. de
Constitut.*

must they needs disagree in their definitions of that supreme spirit, so far above us. If prudent men tell us, it is perillous to search into the counsels (*w*) of Kings, nor can we attain unto them: who is so subtile as to pierce into the secrets of God, and make a discovery of God's way of ordering things subject to his divine pleasure? Wherefore *Plato* (*x*) said very well, none of these can be known without an Oracle. But now no Oracle can be produced^d, that may appear such by more pregnant testimonies, then those contained in the Books of the new Covenant. 'Tis so far from being prov'd, that 'tis not affirm'd, God hath declared any thing to man about his nature, repugnant to these books: nor can any later signification, which is credible, concerning his will, be brought forth unto us. For as to things plainly of a middle nature, or certainty, not of themselves binding, nor unlawful, what was before the times of Christ otherwise ordained or permitted, This does not impair our books, because in such things the following Laws (*y*) derogate from the former.

XIII.

There are that object a certain disagree-

agreement of the sense in sundry places of these books. But on the contrary, whosoever will with Equity judge of this matter, shall find, this also may be added to the Arguments for their Authority; that in matters, which have in them any moment of doctrine or history, there is every where a very manifest consent: such as is not any where else to be observed among the Writers of one Sect, whether you take the (z) Jews, or Greek (a) Philosophers, or (b) Physicians, or Roman (c) Lawyers: in all which you will very often find, that they not only oppose one another, who are of the same Sect; as Plato (d), and Xenophon: but that the same Writer, many times, as forgetting himself, and (e) uncertain what to determine, asserts now one thing, and now another. But our Writers insist upon the same matters of Faith, deliver the same precepts of good life; and of the life of Christ, his Death and Resurrection, the substance is every where the same. As for some lighter circumstances, and of no concern to the main, it might easily come to pass that although there may be commodious conciliation, it may be unknown to us by reason of like things done, at di-

XIII.
Objection
of disagree-
ing places
answer'd.

z Vide de Hist.
Menassem
Israelis fil.
us libris de
Creat. & Res.
surr.

a Vide Plu-
tarch. lib.
citat.

b Vide Ga-
len. de Sectis,
& Celsum de
re Med.

c Vide Ga-
brielis Sen-
tentias

d Vide Gel-
lium lib 14.

e Ostendere
id multi in
Aristotele;
in Rom. ju-
risc, alii.

f. L. testium.
De testib.

vers times, the Ambiguity of names, several names of one person or of one place, and more such causes. Yea this very thing ought to acquit those Writers from all suspicion of deceit: seeing false witnesses, by collusion (f), use to say all things so, as not the least colour of diversity may appear. But, if for some small discrepance, though irreconcilable, whole books must lose their credit, now no Book at all, especially of Histories, were to be believed: when yet *Polybius*, and *Halicarnassensis*, and *Livy*, and *Plutarch*, in whom such things are deprehended, still keep as to the main, their authority and esteem amongst us. So much the more reason is, that no such things should overthrow their credit, whom we see by their Writings to have been most studious of truth and piety.

XIV.
Objection
of external
testimonies
answer'd.

Remains another way of refelling testimonies, by contrary testimonies from without. But, with confidence I affirm, such cannot be found, unless perchance one will bring hither the saying of men long after born; and such too as were professed enemies of the Christian name, and come not in the quality of witnesses.

Yea,

Yea, on the other side, though 'tis need-
less, we can allege many testimonies,
which do confirm several parts of the
History delivered in these Books. So,
that *Jesus* was affixt unto the Cross,
that by him and his Disciples Miracles
were wrought, both Hebrews and Pagans
testifie. Of *Herod*, *Pilate*, *Festus*, *Felix*;
of *John Baptist*, of *Gamaliel*, of the
desolation of *Jerusalem*, the most lucu-
lent Writings of *Josephus* are still ex-
tant, set forth a little after the fortierth
year from Christ's departure: with
which doe agree those things which
are read in the *Phalms* touching
the same times. *Nero's* Cruelty upon the
Christians is recorded by *Tacitus*. There
were also, of old, extant the Books both
of private men, as *Phlegon's*, (g) and pub-
lick *Acts*, (h) to which the Christians
did appeal, which gave in evidence of
that Starr, (i) which appeared upon the
birth of Christ, of the earth-quake, and
of the Eclipse of the Sun against Na-
ture, the Moon being at full, at the time
of our Saviour's Crucifixion.

g Lib. 13.
Chron. 2.
pud Euseb.
& Orig.
adv Celsum
2.
h Tertul.
Apol. 121.
i Chalcedon.
Com. ad
Timonium.

XV

What can be yet more opposed to
these Books, truly I cannot see, except
perchance, that they have not continu-
ed

Objection
of Corrup-
tion an-
swered.

ed so entire, as they were at first. It must be confest, as to other Books, so to these it was possible to happen, and it hath happen'd, that by Exscribers carelesness, or perverse care, some Letters, Syllables, Words, were changed, omitted, added. But 'tis unjust, for such diversity of Copies, which cannot but come to pass in the succession of many Ages, to move a controversie, and quarrel with such a Book or Instrument; when both custome and reason requires, that the reading shewed by the most, and most antient Copies, be preferr'd above the other. That by fraud, or any other means, all the Copies were corrupted, and even in those places which pertain to Doctrine, or any notable point of History, will never be proved: no monuments, no witnesses of those times can be produced. If any thing of latter date, as we touched even now, was said, by such as cruelly hated the Disciples of these Books, that is not to be taken for a proof, but for a reproach. And this might suffice which we have said in answer to those who object the mutation of the Scripture; when he that affirms it, especially against a writing long and

generally received, ought himself to prove (k) what he intendeth: But we, to lay open more plainly the vanity of that Objection, will shew that which they feign as a thing done, neither to have come to pass, nor to have been possible. We have evinced formerly that the Books are of those Writers, whose names they bear, whence 'tis plain, they are not supposititious. Nor is any notable part changed. For, being such change must be made to some purpose, that part would have some remarkable difference from the other parts and Books unchanged; which difference is now no where seen: yea, as we said, there is every where an admirable consonance of the sense and meaning. Moreover, as soon as any one of the Apostles or Apostolick men set forth any writing, no doubt, the Christians with great diligence, as became their Piety and Zeal of conserving and propagating the Truth to posterity, took thence for themselves very many Copies, which were after dispersed, as far as the Christian Name, extended, through Europe, Asia, and Ægypt, in which places the Greek Language was understood: yea and some Originals, as we have

k L. ult.
c. de ed.
D. Adriani
tollendo.

have said already, we respect unto the two hundreth year. Now, it was not possible, any Book diffused into so many Copies, secured not only by every mans private diligence, but by the Common care of the Churches could admit any falsarious hand. Besides, presently in the next Ages, these Books were translated into *Syriac*, *Æthiopic*, *Arabic*, *Latin* tongues: which translations are to this day extant, and differ from the *Greek* Books in nothing of any moment. And further, we have also the Writings of those who were instructed by the Apostles themselves or their Scholars, who allege places not a few out of these Books in that sense, which even we of this Age doe read. Nor was any man in the Church of so great Authority in those times, who, if he had endeavoured to change the Text, could have prevailed with the rest: as appears sufficiently by the free dissent of *Irenæus*, *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* from those who were of greatest Eminence in the Church. After these times now mention'd, there succeeded many other persons of great Learning and of great Judgement, who, upon diligent Inquisition, have embraced these Books, as per-

persisting in their Original purity. And that too, which we have lately spoken of the divers Sects of Christians may be applied here; They all, at least which do acknowledge God the Maker of the World, and Christ the Author of a New Law, do use these Books so as we have them. Had any taken in hand the interpretation of any part, the rest would have accused them as falsarious. And, that no Sect ever had the licence, to change these Books and fit them to their own opinions, even from this you may collect; because all Sects, and against all, do hence derive, their Arguments. Lastly, what we have touched of the Divine providence, pertains no less to the principal parts, than to the whole Books. It was not meet, that God should suffer so many thousands of men, studious of Piety, and seeking their Eternal Safety with a sincere purpose, to be led into that Error, which was not possible for them to avoid. Thus much be spoken for the Books of the New Covenant, which, if alone they were exstant, were sufficient to instruct us in the true Religion.

Now, since it hath pleased God to
leave

XVI.
For the Authority of
the Books
of the old
Covenant.

leave us also the instruments of the Jewish Religion. which was in old time true, and doth afford no mall testimonies to the Christian, 'tis to our purpose to maintain the fidelity of these Books also. And that they are theirs by whose names they are intitled, is proved in the same manner as we prov'd the same for our Books. The persons, whose Names they bear, were either Prophets, or Men most worthy of belief: Such as *Esdra* also was, who is said to have collected them into one Volume, at what time there yet lived these Prophets, *Aggai*, *Malachi*, *Zachary*. I will not here repeat, what hath been spoken above in praise of *Moses*. Not only that first part, delivered by *Moses*, as we shewed in the first Discourse, but the latter History hath many of the Pagans to give witness to it. So the Names of *David*, and *Solomon*, and the leagues with the *Tyrians* were mentioned in the *Phœnician* (1) Annals. *Nabuchodonozor* (m) and other *Chaldean* Kings are remembered by *Berosus*, no less then by the *Hebrew* Books. *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt*.

Vide quæ
ex iis reci-
tat Jose-
phus An-
tiq. Hist.

S. 2. Vide & 7. 6. m De hoc Berosi locum nobis servavit
Josephus, Ant. Hist. 10, adv. Appion l.

to *Jeremy*, (n) is *Apries* to *Herodotus*. n 44. 3.
 (o) And the Books of the *Grecians* are
 full of *Cyrus*, (p) and his successors
 unto *Darius*. Many other matters
 pertaining to the Jewish nation are al-
 leaged by *Josephus* in his Books against
Appion. To which may be joyned, what
 we have touched above (q) out of *Strabo*
 and *Trogus*. But as for us Christians,
 there is no reason at all, that we should
 doubt of the Truth of those Books,
 when in our own Books are exstant, out
 of almost every of them, Testimonies,
 which are likewise found in the He-
 brew. Nor did Christ, when he repre-
 hended very many things in the Do-
 ctors of the Law, and the Pharisees of his
 time, ever accuse them of falsimony
 committed against the Books of *Moses*
 or the Prophets; or that they used sup-
 posititious or corrupted Books. That
 the Scripture was corrupted since the
 Times of Christ, in things of moment,
 cannot be prov'd, nor will it be made
 Credible, if one well consider, how far
 and wide was dispersed the Nation of
 the Jews, the keepers of those Books e-
 very where. For first the Ten Tribes were
 by the *Assyrians* carried away unto *Media*,
 Two afterward, and of these also many
 af-

Lxx.
 o Lib. 2.
 p Vid. Dio-
 d or. Sic.
 Lib. 2.
 Justin. l 41.

q Disc. 1.

r Vide Meca-
taum apud
Joseph.

Cont. App.

r.

Joseph An-
tiq. 16.10.

Lib. 1. Sat.

4.

8 Sat. 14.

2. 3. 4.

Joseph. 12.2.

afterward, and of these also many, after the Return granted by *Cyrus*, fate still in forreign Lands. The *Macedonians*, by great Commodities, invited them to. (r) *Alexandria*. The Cruelty of *Antiochus*, the Civil Warrs of the *Asmoneans*, the external of *Pompey* and *Sesias*, dissipated many. *Cyrenaica* (s) was full of Jews: full were the Cities of *Asia*, *Macedonia*, *Lycaonia*; the Islands also of *Cyprus*, *Crete* and other. And at *Rome* how great their number was we may learn out of *Horace*, (t) *Juvenal* (u) *Martial* (w). No art was able to impose upon Companies so far distant from each other: nor was it more possible for them to agree upon deceiving us. Add that about three hundred years (x) before Christ, by the care of the Kings of *Ægypt*, the Books of the Hebrews were turned into the Greek Tongue by those who are called the Septuagint: So that now they were possessed by the *Grecians*, though in another Language, yet upon the matter in the same sense; and therefore were they less capable of any Change. Moreover, into the *Chaldee*, and into the *Jerusalem-Tongue*, that is, the *Semisyriac*, were the same Books translated, partly

a little before, partly not much after the times of Christ. There followed then other Versions into the Greek, of *Aquila Symmachus, Theodotion*, which *Origen*, and after him other, compared with that of the Seventy Interpreters, finding no diversity of the Story or things of Weight. *Philo* flourished in the Age of *Caligula*; *Josephus* lived till the times of *Vespasian*: Both of them cite those places of the Hebrew Books, which we also at this day read. And in their times Christian Religion began to be spread more and more; the professors whereof, many were Hebrews, many had learned (y) the Hebrew tongue, to whom therefore it was easy, if any false dealing had been used by the Jews in any notable part, to deprehend it, by comparing the most antient Copies, and to lay the same open to the World. But, they do not only not do that, but also allege very many Testimonies out of the old Covenant plainly in that Sense wherein they are extant among the Hebrews: which Hebrews, certainly, you may convince sooner of any crime, than, I will not say of falsehood, but even of negligence about these Books, they
being

ylt Origen.
Epiphani-
us, maxime
veid Hiero-
nymus.

2. Josephus
2. cont. Ap.
Vid Legem
Deut. 4. 1.
Thalmud.
tit. Scheb.

being us'd to write out and compare (2) them with a most Religious care, so that they number the very Letters, how often every one is met with. In the last place we may add this Argument, not the least, to prove the Scripture hath not been corrupted on purpose by the Jews; Because the Christians, out of the same Books which the Jews read, do evince, and that as they verily believe, strongly, That their Lord and Master Jesus is that very Messias, who was of old Promised to the Ancestors of the Jews; Which, above all things, the Jews would have prevented, since the difference between them and the Christians arose, had it ever been in their power to alter what they pleased.

Conclusion.

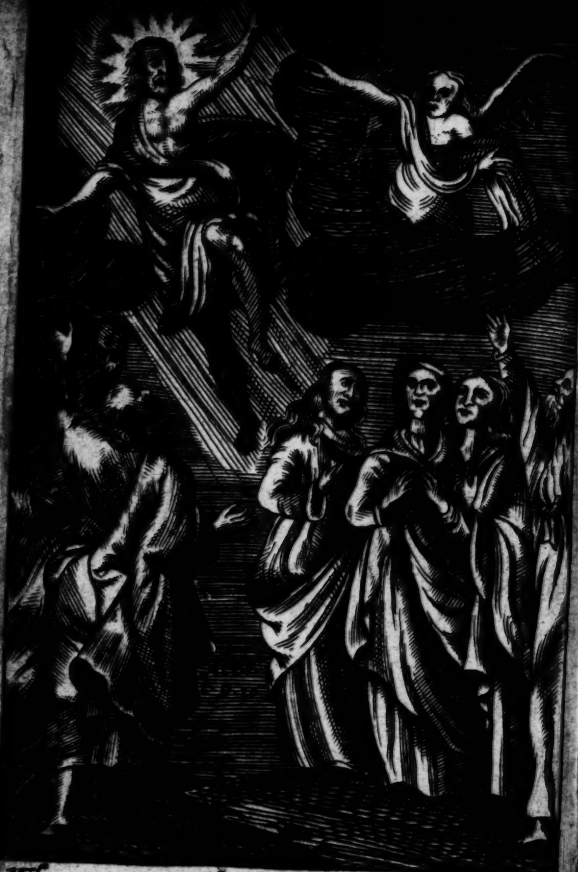
THE use of all is briefly this, Let all Christians lift up pure hands unto God the Creator of all things, confiding in his providence, without whose permission nothing comes to pass, and fearing him above all, who hath equal power both over soul and body. Let them believe in God the Father, and in Jesus

Jesus too, in whose name alone there is salvation; according to whose will, If they compose their lives, they shall live eternally. The holy Doctrine of Christ let them carefully keep, as their most precious treasure: and unto the reading of the sacred Scripture, written so faithfully, and with so Divine a Spirit, that it clearly contains all necessary truth, Let them bring an humble and obedient minde, whereby they shall apprehend whatsoever is needfull to be believed, hoped for, or done, and shall cherish in themselves that spirit, which is a pledge of their further happiness. Chiefly let them have a care of mutual concord, which Christ at his departure so earnestly commended to his Disciples. One is our Doctor, Jesus Christ; into one name are we all baptized. That we may not fall asunder into Sects, Let us be wise unto sobriety, every one according to that measure of knowledge he hath received; the weaker sort must be won with mildness, and the stronger must bear with the weaker, and excel them also in moderation: And untill God reveal the truth to the dissenting brethren, the points agreed on must be firmly held and put in practice. Now we
know

know but in part, the time shall come when our knowledge shall be compleated : Mean-while let every one imploy his Talent, and do his best endeavour to gain others unto Christ, not only by good instruction, but the example of an holy life ; that all men may see the goodness of our Lord, in the good behaviour of his servants, and behold the purity of his Law in our sincere obedience.

FINIS.





Why gaze you thus? Our Saviour doth but rear
Himself from Earth, to his more proper Sphere.
The wonder is, How He came down. 'Twas Love
Made him descend, to carry us above.

Appendix.

HUGO GROTIUS

HIS
JUDGEMENT
IN

Sundry points controverted.

TRANSLATED.

Out of his Vote for the
Churches Peace.

Published by the Author
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H. WOTTON. *ad Regem.*

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G

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Deut: 28.
7. 4. 5. 6.

Peace and Plenty still are joyn'd.
By Peace good Arts are more refined.
Nay, Peace Religion doth maintain:
While War brings Atheisme in again.



HUGO GROTIUS

HIS

Judgement in sundry
points controverted.

*Of the Author's Moderation and
Study of peace.*

BEing from my tender years
bred up in the sacred Scrip-
tures, but under Teachers of
several opinions in religion,
I easily perceived it to be the
will of Christ, that all they who
have their name from him, and by him
desire to partake of happiness, should
be one among themselves, as He and
the Father are (a) one. Not only one in

a Ja. 17. 21.
23, 24, 25.

G 3 minde,

minde, but also by that Communion which is visible, and is seen especially in the unity of Government, and the participation of Sacraments: For, the Church is, or ought to be, a certain (*b*) Body; which Body Christ, whom God hath made Head thereof, would have to be compacted, and fitly (*c*) joyned together, and every one to be baptized into the *d* same name, and to eat of one consecrated bread, that so they might more and more grow together, and shew themselves to be one Body (*e*). I was extremely pleased with that beauty of the ancient Church, without controversie Catholick, when all Christians (except some little parts separated, and thereby easie to be known were bound together by the commerce of their *formatæ*, from the *Rhene* to *Africk* and *Ægypt*, from the *British* Ocean even to beyond *Euphrates*. For this end I saw that schisms and divisions of that conspicuous Body were severely interdicted (*f*); and to this purpose principally were the *Epistles* of *Paul*, and of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, together with many Writings of *Optatus* and *Austin* against the *Donatists*. Moreover, I began to consider, that both my own and many other mens Fore-fathers were

Coloss. 1. 18

b Rom. 12. 5.

1 Cor. 12.

12.

Eph. 1. 23.

c Ephes. 4.

16.

d 1 Cor. 12.

13.

e 1 Cor. 10.

17.

f Rom. 15. 7.

1 Cor. 1. 10.

Gal. 5. 20.

were men of piety, enemies to vice and superstition, and such as well instructed their families to the worship of God and love of their neighbor; whose departure out of this life I always thought to have been blessed. Nor was I ever moved to alter this good opinion of them by *Franciscus Junius*, a man of such equity and moderation; that for it some other Protestants more hot-liver'd, did both think ill, and speak ill of him. Further, I did understand by the relation of my Elders, and by written Histories, that there arose men afterward, who said, that Church wherein our Ancestors lived, was by all means to be deserted: Nor did they only desert it themselves (some even before they were excommunicate) but also gathered new Assemblies, which they also called Churches: There they erected new Presbyteries, they preach'd, they administred the Sacraments; and that in many places against the Edicts both of Kings and Bishops: And they said in defence of their doings, even as if they had commission from heaven, such as the Apostles had, *That we must obey God rather than men.* Nor staid they here, but having traduced Kings as Idolaters, and servants to the Pope, they stirred

up the common people to armed meetings, to seditions against the Magistrates, to break down Images of the Saints, and deface Churches; lastly, to civil Wars, and open Arms against Kings. I saw, by this means, was wasted every where much Christian blood: but mens manners for the most part, especially in time of prosperity, nothing at all amended; nay, by long War grown more wild, and infected with the contagion of forreign vices. As I grew in years, I grew more sensible of these things, and more compassionate, & I began both to consider with my self, & to confer with others, about the causes of so great a mischief. They that had departed, to defend what they had done, strongly affirmed the doctrine of that Church, which adhered to the principal See, was corrupt with many heresies & Idolatry: which made me enquire into the Doctrines of that Church, and read Books written on both sides, and the writings too of the present state and doctrine of that Church that is in *Greece*, and of them that cohere unto it through *Asia & Egypt*. I found the same doctrines in the East, which were in the West, defined by general Councils: agreement about the
Government

Government of the Church (except the controversies with the Pope) and about the perpetual rites of the Sacraments. I proceeded farther, to read the chief writers of old time, among which are the *African* and *Gallick*: the Writers of the three best ages I read all, and often; the later, as much as my business and time would permit; especially *Chrysostom* and *Jerom*, because I saw these were esteemed more happy in expounding the Text of sacred Scripture. To these writings applying the rule of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, approved by the most learned men; I collected, what by the testimony of the Ancients, and impressions remaining to this day, was delivered *always, & every where, and constantly*, I saw the same remaining in that Church, which is joyned with the *Roman*. But withal I observed, that by the School men (more skillful in *Aristotle's* Philosophy, than in the holy Scripture, & those ancient Writers, that illustrated Christian Religion, both in *Greek & Latin*) many doctrines were introduced by a certain liberty of argumentation, not by authority of Universal Councils: & that the doctrines established in the Councils, were not by the School-men commodiously explained

And further, that amongst the Prelates, of the Church, such pride, & avarice, and ill maners had prevailed, that they were not solicitous, neither to inculcate those good doctrines to the people as was fit nor to correct the vices of the people but took advantage, and made a gain of the peoples ignorance, & of their superstition, the daughter of ignorance, and nurse of vices. That antient doctrine being thus over-clouded, partly appeared not, partly being discoloured, seem'd other then it was. Then judged I that this was the cause why there was, many ages since, desired a Reformation, *i. e.* a repurgation of doctrine, both from the Scholastical trifles and disputes, & from those mists which overshadowed it: and why, at last (the complaints of Kings & learned men having long been in vain) some Kings ill used by some of the Popes, and elsewhere private persons, set themselves about such a Reformation as they could devise. But yet this had not the desired success, for in several places were framed several Confessions, & contradictory: And, not onely the parties that were made could never close, but also new little parties sprung up every day; so many, that none can number them. Yea, credible

dible it is, that new will arise perpetually, so fruitful is the matter & occasion of them. When this also very much displeased me, & I noted the heads of each party to carry on the business, rather with loudness of noise, than strength of arguments, I turned my self to read those writers, that although they were in a divers communion, yet applied their mind rather to heal, than to enlarge their difference. I no sooner gave my self to that study, but I saw they all made it their business to establish the old un-interrupted doctrine, and to remove the forenamed impediments, both of useless subtleties, and faulty practices, which, either obscure and hide, or discolour and blemish the antient doctrine. To effect this design with most advantage unto concord, their judgement was, that every party ought not take several ways, but all follow the same. Three ways there are, *said they*, either the Authority of an exceeding good *Pope*; or an universal Council lawfully assembled in the inter-Papacy: or the conferences of Kings, guided by the Bishops, with purpose after to refer the Proposals and Conclusions there to the Sea of *Rome*, as the means of Concord. Now, after that I had also
dis-

coursed with excellent men, Divines and Politicians, both of the *Roman* and of the Reformed part, I saw their counsels bending to the same point, with the Books of those I mentioned before. And seeing this business, not less difficult, than commendable, requires many helping hands, not of the first onely, but of the second and third rank, that reasons may be seconded by reasons, and the consent of many, may overcome the contumacy of some, and quicken the slowness of others, I also thought it became me (after much of my life spent in reading those Writers, that love Peace more than Division) to gather together what I had learned, for the use of Posterity.

Of his Annotations on Cassander.

Knowing that *Casaubon* and other great men much commended the Book written by *Georgius Cassander*, a man of a most gentle spirit, at the request of the most religious Emperors, *Ferdinand*, and *Maximilian*; I conceived it my best way not to attempt a new work, but to contribute some additional aid to his work. That work of mine was was
not

not displeasing in *France*, neither to them that would be called Catholicks, nor to the other that desire the title of Reformed. I received also favourable judgements from other places. But from those Preachers that bear the sway in *Holland*, I confesse I expected no favour; nor was I deceived in my conjecture, for very many presently rose up against me with great clamour, as there the custome is, as if *Hannibal* were at the gates.

Of his Letters to Socinians.

I have been accused to forreign Embassadors of grievous Heresies, upon no other ground, but because I had returned answer to the Letters of certain *Socinians*. And verily, I am not so stout, as to deny even to a *Pagan* if he write unto men, that common office of humanity, which *St. Basil* himself vouchsafed to render to *Libanius*.

Of the Synod of Dort.

The pious and learned men, condemned in the *Dort* Synod, and then expelled the land, had delivered to the rulers
of,

of their Countrey their opinion, which is the same with *Melancthon's*, and hath always been defended by many in those places ; But their Adversaries, not they, were the first men that made the separation.

As to those Acts of Dort, the *Argentoratenses* and *Suedi* returned this as a principal part of their answer to *Joannes Dureus*, one who with a good mind endeavoured the reconciliation of Protestants : That themselves were no less condemned there, than they that had the same opinions with *Arminius* : That whereas heretofore they that think themselves more purely reformed than the rest, were wont to give this answer to the objections out of *Calvin*, *Beza*, and others, That they were the private sentences of those Masters : now all of that part are bound up by the publique voice of their Synod, there is no escape, there is none but he is obliged to maintain those horrible decrees, as *Calvin* himself speaks. Nor do they believe brotherly words to be sent them from the Disciples of *Calvin*, with any other mind than that they may insinuate themselves, and creep into power; and when they have prevailed, cast out

out their Brethren, as they did those out of *Holland*, and as *Luther's* Disciples were twice expelled out of the Palatinate.

Of the Bishop of Rome.

The Authority of the *Roman* Bishop would not have seemed so formidable to *Dr. Hall*, that he should therefore cast off all hope of reconciliation, had he known how ready the remedies are in *France* and *Spain*, to restrain the Pope from invading the rights either of the Kings or Bishops : had he considered moreover, That the King of Great *Britain* enjoys no power concerning things and persons Ecclesiastical, which the King of *Sicily* hath not also.

Of the Punishment of Hereticks.

God forbid I should assent to *Calvin* or *Beza*, that such as erre about the Trinity should be burnt or put to death. For in that most difficult point, it is an easie thing to erre ; and the punishment of him that errs, is so to be taught, that he may confess his error. For, if Magistrates by the Law of *Moses* alledged by *Calvin* and *Beza*, ought to slay them that
do

do not well distinguish the divine Persons (which is the only thing *Melancthon* objected to *Servetus*;) why not them that do confound the natures of Christ, which *Calvin's* disciples object to *Luther's*? Again, if that Law set against Idolaters, must by way of similitude be extended unto Hereticks, certainly it may much rather be executed against Idolaters. But now, they that number among Idolaters, all them that adhere to the Sea of *Rome*, do they not shew, that they abstain from putting them to death, not out of any commiseration, but fear of talion, and of being served so themselves? Which bridle of fear being once taken off, their nature would carry them into extremity.

Of the Augustane Confession.

The Anathema's of the *Trent* Synod are not against the *Augustane* Confession, but against the sentences of private men: who had too bitterly traduced the doctrine of the Catholicks, that they had not sufficiently understood. Yea, the Emperour *Charls* made intercession at *Rome*, that this confession might not be put among Books interdicted.

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Of the School-men.

The opinions of the School-men are not to be insisted on; because neither are the Catholicks bound to defend them, neither is their authority so great, that it may obstruct the way of that peace, which we so heartily desire.

Of the Spirit claimed.

Some Protestants say, they are led by publick authority of the Spirit in his word common to all Christians. As much was said by *Soeinus*, *Brown*, and so many others. See into what perplexities the hearers minds are on every side involved: *Here* (saith every Sect) *is the word of God pure and sincere, according to the sense of the holy spirit.* They know not whither to turn themselves, but must abide there where their birth or education, or hope of profit and preferment hath placed them, and applaud their own men, speaking loud and confident. Could any one free men out of this Labyrinth, were it not a happy work, and worthy of all acceptance?

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Of the holy Trinity.

In the words of the Patriarch *Gennadius*, and of the *Greek Church* with him, concerning the Trinity, the learned *Germans*, who set them out, found nothing different from the *Nicene Faith*. I know not whether in this matter your *French wits*, as more subtle, see more than other: but let them take heed, lest that befall them, which happened to *Calvin*; who by his subtleties drew upon himself most grievous criminations. All men cannot clearly express what things differ really, what by reason, and what modally: whether the Father be more rightly said to have begotten, or always to beget: whether *Keckerman* rightly called the persons *non entia*: whether *Calvin* rightly called the persons *propriates*: why the same *Calvin* is not pleased that the Son should be said *God of God*. These and such like, while I read and re-cogitate, I praise the saying of *Ireneus*: *If any one shall tell us how the Son was produced of the Father, we tell him his generation is in-effable, & no man knows it.* And that of *Ruffinus*, or some other on the Creed; *How the Father be-*
gat

gat the Son, I would not have thee examine, nor over-curiously thrust thy self forward into this mystery, lest perhaps by approaching too near unto that light which is inaccessible, thou lose thy eyes. Basil & Nazianzen speak after the like manner. I praise also Marcian the Emperor, who prohibited all disputes about those points that were once determined by Synod.

Of Servetus.

Servetus his Books, by the diligence of Calvin, were burnt, not at Geneva only, but in other places. Yet I confess, in my life-time I have seen one Copy of Servetus his Book in Latine: wherein truly I found not those things, which Calvin objects against him. Michael Servetus, by the procurement of Calvin, was burnt alive at Geneva in the year 1553. What Melancthon wrote of Servetus after that time, he had from Calvin. Oecolampadius seems to have known him in Helvetia before that; but he thought him fit to be exploded, not killed: But Calvin speaketh of himself: I willingly acknowledge and own it, that the accuser came forth from me. He adds, It is not only free for the Magistrates to punish the
cor-

corrupters of heavenly doctrine, but that which unskilful men will not allow to be lawful for them, is commanded them by God. And in an Epistle to Farellus touching the same Servetus: I hope at least he will be sentenced to death.

Of Calvin's Impatience.

With what humanity Calvin was wont to entertain such as differed from him in opinion, is apparent in his writings. Castellio, because he oppugned that Predestination which Calvin taught, he calls *nebulonem & Satanam*: Cornher-tius, & *nebulonem & canem*: The writer of the office of a pious man in this difference of Religion (which was Cassan-der, but was thought by him to be Bal-duinus) he styleth *frontis ferreæ hominem, pietatis expertem, profanum, impudentem, impostorem, &c.* When Balduin had op-posed himself against that writing, he calls him *hominem nihili, obscœnum canem, improbum falsarium, &c.* He calls Cassan-der *audax, morosum, lamiam, larvam, serpentem, pestem, carnificem*. Besides, Bucer (I will speak what is true, though some would not have it spoken) he did so vex, that he forced the meek man to write

writ these most true words, *Judicas, prout amas vel odisti; amas autem vel odisti, prout libet*. Thou judgest according to thy love or hatred; Thou lovest and hatest as thy list is. Yea, and for his bloudy sayings, *Bucer* gave him the name of *Fatricida*. This liberty of ill-speaking, *Calvin* in an Epistle to *Bucer* gently calls *impatience*: and saith, he did much struggle with it, and did gain somewhat, but had not yet gotten the victory over this beast. Read his after-writings, and you wil say indeed he profited, but from bad to worse. So well did he like, *Quod non v. lo, facio*; What I would not I do. And so *Beza* confesseth in fifteen years space, wherein he taught others the way of righteousness, himself could not learn sobriety, nor liberality, nor veracity, but still did stick in the mire. I do not revive these things, as if I had a mind to fight with dead men; but because I observe, it usually comes to pass, that every one imitates the manners of Him whom he hath chosen for his Master, *Melancthon's* Scholars, and *John Ardd's*, almost all, you shall find of a sweet and milde disposition; *Calvin's* on the contrary, sharp, and such as they imagine God to be toward the greatest part of man-

mankind. So great a matter it is, what Doctor you use. They that have the leasure may do well to read both *Cassander's* and *Baldwin's* Answers to *Calvin*, for their better knowledge of the mans disposition.

Of Adam and his Innocency.

The Apostle *Paul* opposing the earthly *Adam* to the spiritual, considers *Adam* as he was first created, not as fallen. Whence it follows, that we have another nature from Christ, then we should have had, if *Adam* had persisted in his primitive condition, and begotten his like. Yet, that a certain Innocency was in *Adam* before he sinned, no understanding man can deny. Nor do I dispute what God would have done with him, had he persisted in obedience. I freely leave every man to the liberty of his own judgement in this point. But (this secret counsel of God being laid aside) that a Cœlestial life was not promised him, but a terrestrial only, the Scripture plainly speaks. Nor could he certainly promise to himself that which God hath not promised him. And the Law of *Moses* it self, given so long after
hath

hath no promises but terrestrial, as appears to every Reader, and all the Antients well perceived. *Cameron* taught thus in *France*. And I do not herein digress from the received sentence of the Church; I do also willingly submit my self in this point to the judgement of the Univerſity of *Paris*.

Of Grace and Free-will.

Pelagius thought the external predication of the word sufficient to beget righteousness; the interiour he thought to happen to some, but not to be necessary. But, that the Free-will of man is subjoyned and conjoyned to that grace working inwardly, this is not an error of *Pelagius*, but Catholick sense, which is acknowledged by all the Writers of the three best Ages, and by the Bishops of *Rome*, who answered the *Africk* and *Gallick* upon this question. Yet doth not Grace depend upon Free-will, because Grace worketh how far, and how much it pleaseth: nor leaveth working but because it will, for just causes.

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Of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament.

That the Body of Christ is in the Eucharist after a singular manner, D. Rivet acknowledgeth; he denies the manner to be substantial. But that which the signs testifie is really and truly received, D. Rivet's Gallick Confession saith. Calvin, Beza, and Sadeel say, that the Body and Blood is received substantially. The difficulty ariseth from the words diversly understood. For D. Rivet by the substantial manner, understands the quantitative, which no Catholick would acknowledge. But, that this manner is so substantial, that it is spiritual, the Catholicks confess. The substance of every thing is that which is chief, which is active, for which the rest are. In this Sacrament, which consists of invisible things and visible, the chief is the body and blood of our Lord: the rest are accounted as accidents.

Of Justification.

In this controversie of Justification many triumph, as if they had brought us light from heaven, that was unknown very many Ages. But I will sincerely speak, what I have learned out of much reading of the Greeks and Latins, who have

have written upon *Paul's* Epistle to the *Romans* Christ is our Righteousness, so as he is our Sanctification: *i. e.* the cause both of our Righteousness and Sanctification. For by Faith in Christ we are justified, that is, purified and freed from vices. Being thus freed, God useth us, loves and honours us as just and righteous: and in token of highest friendship gives us his Holy Spirit, by whom we produce, or ought to produce works truly heroical, that is, heavenly. So they that were righteous *Tsadikim* are made also good men *Chasidim* in the highest degree. Now, faith is said to be imputed for righteousness, or (which is the same) righteousness by faith, because God accounts it for an act very excellent, as of old the zeal of *Phineas*. Of the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, as if we had performed it all; and of faith, whose office it is to embrace that righteousness so imputed, there is not one word in the sacred letters. That faith which is so much commended is this, whereby we believe Christ to have suffered, died, and risen again from the dead; and therefore, those things to be true which he brought us in Gods Name, either by way of precept
H or

or of promise. Mean while, 'tis true, that God forgives them, who are purged from vices, their former crimes; and that he doth for Christ his sake, who hath obtained it for us: For God was not bound to forgive them. But unless God had forgiven us our sins, he would not give us that greatest gift, which in this life can be conferred on men, his holy Spirit. For that is a sure Testimony of his paternal love, and of this in the highest degree. That the sayings of *Paul* tend hither, & that this is his sense, both by the force of his words, and the series of his discourse, we trust we shall make manifest in our Annotations. In the mean time I entreat those that doubt to read the Greeks, *Chrysostom*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylact*, or the Latines also, *Ambrose* and *Hierome*; they will find them to have thought the same that I say. And what marvel is it? if God for his righteousness approve of that righteousness which himself hath made in us, and which is therefore called *the righteousness of God*, and which doth many waies excel the legal righteousness, and all that proceeds from humane strength? For God cannot chuse but love what is his own. Nor doth

doth God, when he looks upon men converted by himself, and unto himself, look upon them as sinners (as the word is taken in Scripture) but as purged and freed from sin. And thence ariseth that joyful peace of conscience, because unto such, God (as we have now said) for Christ's sake hath promised indulgence of their former crimes.

Now the honour and glory of all righteousness which is found in Christians returns unto God and Christ. For faith is the gift of God, and by Christ, not by works, but by him that calleth. And this is the seed of righteousness, and all the fruit is esteemed to be in the seed. How easie a way here is to a reconciliation, were it not for Scholastick subtleties, and an unpeaceable mind, *Bucer* shews upon the second Psalm, not of *Steven's* Edition, which is plainly corrupt and depraved, as for the most part the *Genevian* Editions are, but of the *Argentorare*: *Non possum non sanius iudicium optare quibusdam, &c.* I cannot but wish a sound judgement to some, who in these our times have troubled many with this paradox, That we are saved by faith alone.

When yet they saw this was so interpreted as if they did define righteousness by the sole opinion or persuasion of the mind, and did seclude good works. What charity now is that, which doth not vouch-safe one word to cure this malady, by saying, we are justified by faith formed or consummate; or by faith we attain a willingness to do good works, and so attain to righteousness; or, faith is the foundation and root of a good life, as Austin said. Nor is any man verily to be offended with the truth. See the same Bucer's preface to his Commentaries upon the four Evangelists, which also is purposely omitted in Steven's edition. Melancthon too, in his letters to Joachimus Camerarius, oft complains, the only objection against him was, that he praiseth good works a little too much. But, saith he, I say, not such horrible things as others, and those things that are both true and profitable.

Touching forgiveness of sin.

Luke 23. 34.

What Esaias fore-told that Christ should pray for the transgressors, the same Luke declares he did in these words: *Father, forgive them, for they know*

know not what they do. Here is not meant full and perfect remission, which follows repentance, but remission with a certain respect, or absolution of a certain punishment which might then have been inflicted on them. Those words require this sense: *for they know not what they do.* For it follows not thence, that they ought to obtain a plenary pardon, which is not given but to the penitent, such as they were not at that time; but that they might not be dealt with rigorously to wit, by shutting up against them the ways of repentance.

Of Predestination.

The place, *Rom. 8. 30.* is carried violently by Dr. Rivet to his Predestination, whereas in all that Chapter the discourse is of the destination to the Cross: which destination they, when they are able, by opposite force avoid, or even prevent. If any man doubt of it, let him read the History of *Geneva* restored.

The distinction of Gods antecedent will, and consequent, we have in *Damascen de Orthodoxa fide. 11. 79.* and more at large in *Dialogo cum Manichæo* not far from the end. As for Predestination, it

doth not signifie in the Scriptures that which many conceive, but an Ordination of those benefits whereby we are conducted to salvation, and is always taken in the better sense.

Touching certainty of salvation.

Austin and other Fathers teach, that we are indeed certain of the reward, if we persevere: and this is the faith which cannot be deceived: but of perseverance it self we are uncertain; yet so, that the more every one proceedeth in piety, the more hope he hath, fear being not altogether excluded. *Austin* also saith, no man is certain of his Predestination, without divine revelation: And faith joyned with charity, and regeneration, are not certain tokens of Predestination, because many that had that faith, and were regenerated, not onely fail, but eternally perish. *The regenerate, some persevering to the end go hence, others are here detained until they fall away: De bono persever.* To some whom he hath regenerated in Christ, to whom he hath given faith, hope and charity, God giveth not perseverance, *cod. lib.* Some regenerate and justified person relapseth
into

into an evil life by his own will: De Correp. & Grat. Therefore no man can be secure, until this life, which is a temptation upon earth, be consummate. De bono persever. But indeed, as Melanct. writes to Joachimus Camerarius, there are some paradoxes born in Zeno's School, which are not rightly father'd upon Austin.

Of the Angel in the Revelation, c. I. II.

The Angel is but one in every Church (where yet long before were many Presbyters) so called because the Hebrews (whose example the Egyptians also followed, as we learn by a place of Diodorus Siculus in Photius) stiled their chief Priests, to whom the Bishops in the Church are correspondent, by the name of Angels. Christ himself distinguishes the Church and the Angels: the Candlesticks are the Churches, and the Stars are the Angels of the Church. Jerome called the Angels Presidents of the Church. Austin: *Sub Angeli nomine laudatur præpositus Ecclesiæ*. And the same is the explication of Bullinger, Beza. Reynolds. One of these Angels was Polycarpus, the President of the Presbytery at Smyrna, constituted there

by John the Apostle. *Irenæus* 3. 3. Polycarpus was not onely instructed by the Apostles, and a companion of many of them that had seen our Lord; but also constituted Bishop by the Apostles in Asia in the church of Smyrna: whom also we saw in our first age. For he continued long, and being very old, by a most glorious and most noble Martyrdom departed out of this life. Tert. de præscript. hæ. After this manner the Apostolical Churches bring down their account: as the Church of Smyrna relates Polycarpus placed there by John. advers. Marcion. 4. The order of Bishops followed up to its original, will stand upon John the Author. The Synod of Chalcedon, Acts 11. From S. Timothy until now. 27 Bishops were all made and ordained at Ephesus. I much esteem the incomparable diligence of Blondellus, and I advise all to read his Books: yet with judgement. For it is no wonder, if that learned man be sometimes carried aside by his affection to his own party, and find evasions, as when in *Irenæus* 3. 3. he interprets the more potent principality to be meant of the Empire, when the Church is to be understood, as appears by the reason added, because there hath been always conserved the Apostolical Tradition.

Of

Of Infant-baptism.

To the places of Scripture, which are brought to prove the necessity of baptizing Infants, what may be answered, He that will may learn out of Cardinal Perren's Answer to *Casaubons* Epistle, cap. 8. For my part, I acquiesce in the authority of the Church, to whom God hath given the Sacraments, and some right over them. There was a time when the Eucharist was given to Infants. This custome is vanisht, yet not as absurd, but un-necessary. To defer Baptism till ripe years, was in old time left at liberty. Now the observation is otherwise, and yet even now there is no certain time of receiving Baptism defined by the Church. Here is nothing against the Scripture. Great hath alwayes been the liberty of the Church, in the time, place, and manner of such things. There are some lately born that believe otherwise: yet themselves neither baptize the persons naked, nor dip them under water, which is signified by the word *βαπτίζω*. *Austin* said well against *Cresconius*: *Quamvis de Scriptura Canonica non proferatur exemplum, &c.* Though example be not brought out of Canonical Scripture, yet we hold the verity of those Scrip-
H 5 ptures,

ptures, when we practise this that hath pleased the universal Church, commended to us by the authority of the same Scripture.

Of Transubstantiation.

In the Sacrament of the Eucharist, *Modrevius* saith, there is not to be understood any Physical Transubstantiation, but Metaphysical, or rather Theological : and we may add Theurgical. As the word *substance* is not taken by all in the same manner : for the *Aristotelian* Philosophers take it one way, the *Hermetick* another, and the *Platonick* another : So also the word *Transubstantiation* ; or, if you had rather follow the Greek * *Transselementation*. I believe many Protestants are not offended with the word (which may receive as commodious an interpretation, as the word *θεσβόκος*) but with some explications of the School-men : which they may if they please, lay by, and keep to that which all the Catholicks acknowledge, *This*

* *mutation is made spiritually, profits spiritually.* The *Formula Possiacena* proposed by way of concord, is extant, approved and signed, on the part of the Catholicks by the Bishop of *Valence* and *Espenceus*, by *Beza* and *Galassius* on the

Pro-

* μεταρ-
χέσις.

* μεταβολή,
μεταποίησις,
μεταρρύθμι-
σις.

Protestants part. The Fathers and very many Protestants do affirm it for certain, that together with the signs the thing it self is exhibited, but in a manner that is not perceptible by the external senses. So *Bucer* and others. To speak my heart, I think that many disputers do understand well enough the sense of the ancient Church, and of the present Greek and Latin : but they dissemble it, that they may have matter to declaim upon, among those, that make more use of their outward senses, than their inward.

Of Adoration at the Sacrament.

When the Catholicks say and profess they exhibit signes of honour to Christ, whom very many Protestants do acknowledge present in the Sacrament, they are not * *worshippers of the bread*, * ἀπολα-
no more than the Jews were † *worshippers* τραπε-
of the Ark, when they exhibited honour † κειβωλολα-
to God before the Ark. Christ may be τραπε-
invoked every where, and where more justly, than where in so singular a manner he exhibits his presence? I will say more; the various flexures of the body, anciently used for the signification of honour, have not any certain and deter-
minate

minate signification by the divine Law; but are at free use, unlesse where the manners of people appropriate them to this or that signification. Therefore, if the Apostles bowed the head, others the knees, upon the matter there is no difference. But these words *latrìa*, *adoration*, and the like, because they are ambiguous, do notably serve them that seek contention.

Of Christian Sacrifices.

The word *Sacrifices* is not to be restrained more narrowly than either the original of the word or the use of it will bear. The legal oblation of fine flour is called a Sacrifice. And in *Gen. 4. 3.* according to the Greek: Cain brought of the fruits of the earth *θυσία* a sacrifice to the Lord. Therefore also of the fruits of the earth, the offering that is made is rightly called *θυσία* a sacrifice. Therefore the faithful sacrifice, when they offer the fruit of the corn, and the fruit of the vine, to be consecrated to the most holy use. Moreover, the Church commemorating the sacrifice of Christ with the usual rite and words, in this also sacrificeth and offers that which is her own, given unto her by Christ, that
the

she setteth before the eyes of God, by that she beseecheth God, and it is the same sacrifice that Christ offered; the same one true and singular sacrifice to *Augustine*, a sacrifice of * memory, to *Ensebius*, a * spiritual sacrifice to others. After that, the faithful offer themselves, according to the example of Christ, their goods, their labours, their life also, if not in effect, in affection, as *Abraham* sacrificing offered his Son. In all this, what is there new? what deformed? what hurtful? But mindes once distracted, do distract all things into a depraved meaning, and then are glad to find a hint for it in any of the Schools.

* μνημονε
 θυσιαν.
 * νοσηρ
 θυσιαν.

Of Satisfaction.

To *satisfie* is not a word of Scripture, but of the Civil Law, and the Lawyers say, we satisfie him whose desire we fulfill. Now, God desires not repentance onely, but the testimonies of repentance, especially such as do inure upon the mind the memory, and eschewing of the offence. Neither is more injury done to Christ in this word, than when the Apostles are said to convert, and to save men: which words do agree to Christ

Christ in an excellent and principal way; to the Apostles in their measure. Nor would Christ so satisfie for us, as to leave us nothing to do our selves. In this point, no lesse than in righteousness which they call *imputative*, the meer devices of men are thrust upon us, instead of divine dictates. And it is no marvel, many are pleased therewith. The Cause is evident.

Of Obedience to Governours.

Surely 'tis an excellent Rule that is prescribed for a King in *Deut.* and there have been few Kings in the people of God, after that Rule, if any one at all. So true is that saying, All good Princes may have their names easily inscribed within the compasse of one ring. The Kings of *Judah* the best had no small faults : those of *Israel* were all naught. Haply, that exact Rule was answered by the great *Theodosius*, *St. Lewis*, and some few more. The fewer they have been, the greater is the praise. To which praise I shut up the entrance to none of the Kings. In the mean time I inculcate into Subjects obedience toward them all, according to the precept of Christ
and

and his Apostles. Let them desire the best, give God thanks for the middle sort, bear with the worst, for the doctrine and example of Christ. Let them suffer even crafty Foxes, such as *Herod* : even cruel Lions, such as *Nero*. And when I speak of Subjects, under that name I comprehend also inferiour Magistrates, who in respect of the Highest Power, are but Subjects, sent by the King, as *Peter* saith. I preach not *Evangelium armatum*, an armed Gospel, as *Ronsard* said of *Beza* truly. Not obedience only, but honour also and reverence are due unto them, even to the froward. What else? saith *Sophocles*, They are Princes. But *Paul* with Apostolical gravity : They are Gods Ministers. And if the doubtful actions even of private men are, according to the rule of charity, to be interpreted on the better part, how much more of Kings ; who are not bound to render an account of their actions to any, nor can they sometimes do it without peril of the Common-wealth.

of

*Of Religion turned into
Rebellion.*

If we enquire into the causes of those wars which have so long wasted *Europe*, we shall find the blame to have been kindled principally by them that should have been the Preachers of peace. That the Civil Wars of *France* most of them were raised by them that stile themselves Ministers of the Gospel, needs no stronger witnesses, than the fresh memory of the Kings, Peers, and People, together with very many Letters both of the Duke of *Bulion*, and *du Pleffis* complaining thereof; and also these very Commentaries which the Duke of *Rohan* hath written of the last wars. Yet I except *Camero*, who was ever of another mind, and fared much the worse for it. If there were any more like unto him, I would not deprive them of their due praise. Some kept themselves quiet, because they were not in fit place to make any commotion. The faults of the other side excuse them not. Even *Boucher's* book is all patched up with the sayings of *Junius Brutus*, *Buchanan*, *Hottoman*, We have seen a prodigious thing,
Troops

Troops and Companies mustered, Arms and Ammunition gathered under the Name of the Reformed Churches. Whence is this power, from heaven, or from earth? For my own part, being one who do not only dissuade Subjects from taking Arms, but entreat Kings also to make a sparing use of their Prerogative; who think them to be less miserable that are condemned to the Gallies, than such as are devoted to an everlasting War; I rejoyce in the Peace made between the most valorous Nations, the Swede and the Polonian: nor can I give them both any better counsel than to perpetuate the same. I wish the like to other people, but I dare scarce speak out it is so dangerous. In other things also, I trust by Gods direction, I shall satisfie the Queen and Governour of *Swede*, which now I look upon as my own Countrey.

of

Of some dangerous Opinions.

Some Opinions there be, that will not permit any state longer to be safe, than force is wanting. Many think, that there is every where a certain contract or covenant between God, the King, and the people upon such terms, that if the King depart from God, the people also may desert the King. Now from God, as they imagine, depart, those first, who acknowledge the Popes primacy in the Church: for in all reason they must lose that power which they have delivered up unto the Beast: those next, who attempt any reconciliation with that Church that co-heres to the Roman Church, that is, with the Synagogue of Satan, as they please to speak: Those lastly, who retain any of the Rites and Ceremonies, such as are retained not in *England* only, but in the Northern Kingdoms: they are all Papistical, and therefore Idolatrous. Another of their fancies is, that where it is written in the Apocalypse, *Render double unto Babylon*, there is meant by Babylon, the Church con-joyned within the See of *Rome*. And there the faithful have e-
very

very one a divine mandate, to destroy Altars, and the Images of Saints, to take away all that worship, together with the worshippers : for otherwise Babylon cannot fall, nor a double reward be given to her. And cursed are they that do this work of the Lord negligently. A third conceit is, that they read in *Daniel*, how all Kings and Princes must submit their Crowns to the holy people of the most High, *i. e.* to the people Reformed. Which is so evidently written, that every one is blind who sees it not. Some go further, and say, that all things by right pertain to the Elect : Other men are no better than robbers : Themselves without all question, are these Elect : because for them particularly Christ died, and that they are certain of, because they do believe it, or apprehend that benefit by faith. These in truth are things somewhat ridiculous, but of a very sad consequence.

of

*Of the interpretation of
an Oath.*

Concerning the force and obligation of an Oath, whereby Subjects are obliged to the Magistrates, I conceive the Interpretation belongs to States-men, and Lawyers, not to the Divines.

Of Augustine's Opinion.

I see learned men in great Volumes have disputed, whether *Augustine* liked of that predestination which is vented under his name by many, who for this especially call themselves Reformed. Certainly, if that were his opinion, he did not approve it to the African his Collegues, nor to the Roman Bishops: as appears by the Epistles of those, and by the acts of these, wherein is no mention made at all of that Predestination. *Celestine*, Bishop of Rome, having said, *Augustine* was esteemed among the best Doctors, after he had spoken some profitable things concerning grace, adds, the profounder and more difficult parts of the inter-current questions, he neither durst condemn, nor held it necessary

lary to affirm. And *Prosper* writing to the same *Celestine* in his own name, and of his Collegues in *Gallia*, that upon review of former opinions, almost all are found to concur in the same sentence, holding the predestination of God to be according to his pre-science; thereby informs us, either that *Austin's* Opinion was not that which some pretend, or that his Opinion was new. In this and other points I am contented with the faith of the three first ages, whose doctrine what it was in this matter, I have well assured my self by diligent reading. If I had not, I might stand to *Calvin* and *Beza* for my witnesses.

Of liberty to sin.

Seeing God hath in his Law appointed heavy punishments for homicides and adulteries, and in the world to come will exact greater, according to the greatnesse of the crimes: Hence I infer, those crimes do not necessarily follow from original sin. For if they were necessary consequences of that sin, they would not then deserve any new punishment; but original sin were only
only

only to be punished. For if one through his own fault become mad, and if through the violence of the same madnesse he hurt another, he hath not therein committed any crime, nor deserves he to be punished. I speak it to this purpose, that we may not as many do, cast all our faults upon *Adam* alone; but acknowledge many sins to be committed freely.

Of the use of Naturals.

No man hath deserved to be called by the Gospel, nor were they better that lived in the time of Christ and his Apostles than those of former times: but some, such as sacrificers of men, and devourers of men, and others might have so contemned those natural notions implanted in them by God, that they were therefore justly excluded from the common benefit. And oft-times they do more deserve to be excluded, who might seem to us to have less deserved, because God alone knows what gifts they have despised, he alone rightly weighs their mis-deservings. He hath a measure of his judgement unknown to us.

As

As of old among people very corrupt, there lived *Melchisedeck*, *Job*, *Naaman*, so even now also there may be some not unlike unto *Cornelius*, serving God, either by the reliques of ancient tradition not wholly extinct, or by some other seed from above. These do pertain (as the Writer *de vocatione gentium* saith) unto that part of grace which hath alwayes been afforded to all Nations. 'There have been (saith he) 'and are some gifts so general, that 'men thereby might be helped to seek 'after the true God. Elsewhere he adds, 'God knows how to cumulate 'his general gifts with special graces.

*Of the honour of Saints
and use of Images.*

I deny not, but in the honour of Saints, and in the use of Images, the mean is exceeded by many. Wherefore I would advise them to consider, whether it be not their safest course to direct their prayers unto God, and beseech him that the prayers also of the Saints for us may be accepted : Unto which *Melancthon* too, I see, hath inclined.

ned. Further, I would it were considered, whether in stead of Images, it were not better to place Tables containing some pious History, such as they were, which are mentioned by *Prudentius* in the passion of *Cassianus*. But truly if in this disquisition, ambiguous words, (which by their various acceptance distract the minds of men) were set aside, (namely, invocation, adoration, worship, religion, honour,) and if in things themselves the indifferent were distinguish'd from the unlawful, there would be fewer seeds of contention.

*Whether the Saints departed
have any knowledge
of us.*

That pious men exempted from this life are touched with a care of the living, and do pray to God for them, was an opinion deeply fixed in the minds of the Jews; in those times when they were very far from Idolatry, that is, after *Esdras*, unto this present. *Abraham* in *Iosephus*, being ready to slay his son, hath these words: 'God receiving thy
'soul by prayer and sacrifice offered up,
'and

and placing thee near unto himself,
'thou shalt be a solicitor for me, and
'to comfort my old age, for which end
'I brought thee up, thou shalt procure
'for me the assistance of God. Moreover,
Philo de diris saith, the Israelites have
three Advocates; Gods goodness, their
Ancestors prayers, and a Life every day
growing better. And concerning their
Ancestors thus he speaketh: 'They be-
'ing freed from the body, do exhibite
'unto the supream Lord a naked and
'sincere worship, and do make pray-
'ers for their sons and daughters not
'in vain, God the Father rewarding
'them with a gracious audience. This
opinion hath been much confirmed by
the divine Apocalypse, shewing to *John*,
and by him to us, that the Martyrs
before the time of the universal Resur-
rection, do reign with Christ: For
they cannot reign without some know-
ledge of affairs. And it seems by the
precedent words, this vision is refer-
red to the times after *Constantine*, wher-
in the Martyrs were more publicly ho-
noured than before, not only by the
Christians, but by God himself, by the
cures daily happening at the places de-
stin'd to their honours. But (say
I some)

some) how doth that knowledge come unto the Martyrs at so great a distance? This is not hard to be understood, if we remember that the Prophets also living in this grosse body had the like priviledge. *Elisba* saw what *Gebezi* did being absent; *Ezechiel* in *Chaldaea* saw what was done in the Temple at *Jerusalem*. Besides, the Angels stand by at the holy Assemblies, and commend our prayers to God : as both Jews and Christians have ever firmly believed. So that the Reader, not possesst with prejudice, may easily judge it more credible, that the Martyrs have some knowledge of our affairs, than that they have none.

*Of Will-worship, and the
Commandments of
men.*

Paul in the 2. of *Colos.* 23. condemns not all will-worship : for so he had also condemned *Abel's* sacrifice, because it came not from divine command, but from humane institution, as the ancients think : but this is it the Apostle blames, that those voluntary worships were preferred before the worship of Christ com-

commanded by God; and, for a thing left to liberty, that which was most necessary, was neglected. The Commandments of men, wherewith God is worshipt in vain, both in *Isaiab* and *Matthew*, are the doctrines of men contrary to the divine law: such as those of the false prophets in *Isaiab's* time, teaching that God might be pacified with sacrifices or other rites, without amendment of life: to which error the Jews are much inclin'd even to this day. Such also is that doctrine of the Pharisees, that he is not bound to feed his Parents, who had said, what-ever may come from me to my Parents, be it now dedicated and vowed to the Temple. The teachers of such things, although they honour God with their lips, have their hearts far from him.

Of the Scripture.

The place in 2 *Tim.* 3. 16. hath another sense than some do think. For *Paul* saith not, All Scripture is inspired from God: for how many Scriptures are there of humane wit? Nor is it his meaning, that all is inspired from God, that is inspired. That were a vain speech. But thus: All Scripture, which is inspired from God (*i. e.* the propheticall word, as *Peter* speaks, 2. 19.) did not onely serve in its time, to shew the præ-science of God, and to give authority to the Prophets, but is alwayes profitable, because it doth also contain documents of perpetual use, reprehensions of vice, excitements to righteousness. The Syriac Interpreter rightly gives this sense: In the Scripture which is given by the Spirit, there is utility for doctrine, &c.

Of Tradition Apostolical.

That a Tradition is Apostolical, may be proved thus :

First, It is a just presumption, those things were delivered from the Apostles, which are every where found in the Churches, and whereof any other original doth not appear.

Secondly, If there be some pious witnesses, wise, and of great authority in the Church, who affirm a thing as delivered from the Apostles, we have now so great a proof as is in this matter sufficient, nor lesse then that by which wee discern the Apostolical writings from those that are not Apostolical. What they found in the Church they held ; what they learned, they taught ; what they received from their fathers, they delivered to their children, saith *Augustine*. A Mathemetical certitude is not to be required in all things, saith *Aristotle*. If one be pertinacious, he will as easily find escapes against the Book, as against the Tradition. But it became the Divine providence to take care, that neither the Books in matters of moment, nor the Tradition should be

adulterated : and that it hath performed. Why then did not the Apostles write what they had delivered ? Because they wrote as occasion was offered , and as the time required, not a System of doctrine and government. What things pertained to the regiment, and the peace of the Churches, were indeed written in great letters, in the conspicuous use of those Churches, which were founded by the Apostles. There was of old a question, whether under the name of women, whom *Paul* would have to be veiled, Virgins also were comprehended. The Scripture was ambiguous, because the word *woman* is of divers signification. *Textullian* doth well solve the doubt. Observe, saith he, the custome of the Church, unto which *Paul* wrote. At *Corinth*, Virgins ever since that time are veiled.

of

Of a General Council.

There is no better testimony or declaration of tradition, nor more convenient for men of all sorts, either given by God, or found out by men, nor can any better be found out (so far as I can judge) than that which is by a Council universal. I believe it hath not happened hitherto, nor will ever come to passe, that in a Council truly universal, *i. e.* composed of select Bishops and Doctors, from every place, any thing can be pronounc'd, and by all the Church received, whereby the peoples salvation may be endangered. He that can, let him shew me another way more safe, and more certain. For to say, we have the Word of God, and the true sense, and the Spirit of God is common to all.

Of Translations of Scripture.

- The Holy Scriptures were written for all. Whatsoever decrees have been any where made against the peoples reading of the Scripture, they are against the Scripture, and against the Canons : and therefore are justly neglected in *France* and other places. Concerning the Versions of *Beza* and *Piscator*, whose learning I do greatly esteem; and of some other, whose learning I do not so much value; that they are often wrested to their own private senses, many have advertised us : namely the Cardinal *Richilieu*, Sect. 2. cap. 3. and concerning the *Geneva* Translation, which yet in places not controverted, is not to be despised, King *James*. But the safest version of all, to them who are unlearned in the Hebrew and Greek, is the Vulgar Latine : which hath no false doctrine in it, as the consent of so many Ages and Nations hath judged

Of the 7th. Chapter of the Romans.

I entreat the Reader for the understanding of this Chapter, to read. I
will

will not say *Arminius*, but Cardinal *Tolet*, or (to prefer a Protestant) *Bucer*. I will follow that Interpretation, which is of the Ancients for the most part, and which more conduces unto piety. That phrase, *sold under sin*, is taken out of *1 King. 21. 25.* where in the Greek the like is spoken of wicked *Ahab*. Will they that preach the efficacy of Grace, give it so little power, as to suffer him that receives it to be like to *Ahab*, and remain (as some speak) prone to all evil, unprofitable to all good? Is this their description of a regenerate man? Doth the Apostle in any other place speak of himself after this manner? We have been such (he saith) but now we are not. No marvel, if they that are such and will remain so, do wrest the sayings of other men, and take them in the worst sense.

I s

To

To the Reader.

THus far have I offered the Authors judgement unto yours, to be followed so far as you see cause, and no further; nor do I presume to interpose my own. Only I fear as ancient Discipline and Rites, so some ancient Doctrines too have been traduced and decryed under the odious name of Popery. And, methinketh, it may justly abate the eagerness of some of our people, and of our young Preachers, who inveigh against persons and opinions, before they have well weighed them; to see so brave a man as GROTIUS deliver himself after that sort. If this little pains have but this effect, I suppose it is not ill bestowed.

Let the Peace of Christ rule in our hearts, to which also we are called in one Body, Col. 3. 15.

M. Casaubon in his Preface to his *Antoninus* in English.

THe best able that I know now living, to perform this or any thing else, that belongs to a general and compleat Scholar, *M. Hugo Grotius, &c.*
D.

D. *Hammond*, Of Christs
reprehending *Peter*.

This learned man *Grotius*, an excellent *Casuis*t, exactly distinguishing the several obligations of nature, of *Moses*, and of Christ, &c.

Grotius according to his manner, which is to say, all that can be wisht in any subject, &c.

Gerardus, *Jo. Vossius*, ad
H. Grotium.

O quam te memorem, optimi parentis
Proles maxima, ter beate *Groti*! &c.

Jo. Scaliger, ad *H. Grotium*.

At quicunque tuos, *Groti*, divine, libellos
Sola muraturos lumina docta leget, &c.

Grotius, thy books declare thy piety,
Fit objects only for the learned eye.

Ian. Dousa, ad *H. Grotium*.

Magne puer, magni dignissima cura pa-
rentis,
Nomine sis dubito major, an ingenio,
&c. Dan.

Dan. Heinsius, ad eundem.

Natura nutrix obstetrixque, quæ prius
 Noverca cunctis, *Grotio* mater fuit.
 Senex ephebus ille, quem *Batavia*
 Miratur omnis, optat *Hetruscus* sibi
 Omnisque *Gallus* : Illè dum puer fuit,
 Vir esse cœpit. Namque reliqui viri
 Tandem fuere : *Grotius* vir natus est.

Heinsius on Grotius.

*Nature the step-dame to us all,
 Grotius may his mother call.
 That old-young man, Holland admires,
 Italy and all France desires.
 We grow up slowly : Would you see
 One born full man ? Grotius is he.*

: THE END.

THE
MOURNER
COMFORTED.

AN
Epistle Consolatory ;

WRITTEN BY

HUGO GROTIUS

T
Monsieur D U MAURIER
the French Embassadour at
the HAGUE.

Translated on a sed occasion, by C. B.

Melius se fert sparsus Dolor.

L O N D O N,

Printed for William Lee. 1668.

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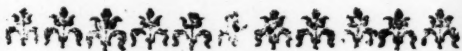
T *His had not seen the light, but that it may be useful to some of the Relatives of that excellent Lady, that could not go to her grave un-observed, nor without great attendance. Her departure may be compared to the disappearing of some star of the first magnitude, Or rather, a new star is thereby added to the heavens. And there let her shine for ever. The use of this Epistolical Discourse may also extend farther than my first*

first design. They that faint under any such loss may take it for a Cordial: and they that fear any, may receive it for a Preparative. This (upon some experience in himself) is the hope of the Translator in the publication of it, and it is Dedicated to those Honourable persons, whom he will not presume to name, until by some more ample testimony he may pub'lickly shew himself their faithful and humble servant.

1652.

C. B.

HUGO



HUGO GROTIUS

His Consolatory Epistle to

the French Embassadour

DU MAURIER

upon the Death of
his Lady.

Most illustrious Lord,

I Am thus far indebted to may
prison, that the evils of other men
come later to my knowledge; e-
ven your wound, which other-
wise I should have known among
the first, by reason of that friendship
wherewith you have honoured me, I
now understand last of all, like unto those
things that come to pass in the remotest
parts of Europe. This will excuse the
slowness of my duty which yet beside ne-
cessity hath reason enough to defend it. For
these consolations are wont to be more
acceptable, which are then applied, when
the

the first storm of sorrow is past, and that pleasure (if I may so speak) of grieving is abated; when the mind now wearied with its disease begins to be willing to admit of remedies, and to suffer the touch of some helping hand. I know how you were affected with my calamity, and thence you may understand. I am not unsensible of your sorrow. Let us, if it please you, mingle together the causes of our grief, that we may together seek for comforts, and when we have found them, make use of them together. Neither am I ignorant, how little I, that am so destitute of all aids both to my mind and body, am able to bring unto this purpose, which is not already better and more effectually alleadged and expressed by the professors of wisdom, or eloquence, or piety, who have heretofore set up their standard against immoderate mourning. But I am taught by my own experience, That can never be too much repeated which is never enough remembered. We must scour and call back into use the Arms, which by length of time are grown rusty. Besides, the advices which are given in general words, as spoken unto all, are wont to pass by with less observation: but when they

they are applyed to our particular case having no other mark to hit, they pierce and have a more strong effect. At our first entrance upon this work, we must seriously consider, whether the grief of the heart be in the number of those things, over which our labour and industry hath any power. For if necessarily and naturally we do all grieve so much as the greatness of the occasion, and the immutable frame of every ones mind requireth, it is easily understood all Pains to the contrary is taken in vain. Nor doubt I but rude minds surprized with some such perswasion do sometimes give up themselves to the possession of grief, as of a disease incurable. They feel sad thoughts come into the mind un-sent for, whence follows that pressure of the heart contracting it self, which we call *major*, and so without more ado they throw down their arms in despair of victory. But we, who besides our inward experience (which alone rightly observed might suffice) have the helps of excellent arts, and the use of all learned and wise mens labours before us, cannot be ignorant of the truth in this point, if we please but to rouse our selves up, and draw forth what we have hid
with-

within us. The truth is this, Those first appearances, and the suddain motions arising thence, which the wise compare to the twinklings of the eyes, are without our power; but to admit of those appearances, and let them without judgement and discretion into the closet of the heart; or else to pass a strict examination upon them, and weigh them in the scale of reason; also, to loose the reins to the affections, or to restrain them; this for the most part is within our power. That sorrow may be overcome, nature it self teaches us; for, if by no other means it is at last consumed by time: Art imitates nature. The Physician observing any disease mitigated by natural sweat, endeavours to ease his Patient sick of the like disease by medicines that procure sweating. The new Phylosophers, the Chymists, worthy of more praise and favour, if they did not corrupt the glory of their excellent inventions by vain-glorious promises, teach that the nature of mettals is ambulatory, and by long continuance of time one is changed into another: and herein consists their industry, to promote the endeavours of nature, and hasten that effect which will at length be produced.

Such

Such is the office of right reason in overcoming sorrow. Sorrow hath this good in it above other evils, it bears not age. Other diseases of the mind are nourished, this is wasted by time. You may suppose it is a weak enemy, that cannot maintain it self, and without any force opposed, falls of it self. What nature promiseth at a longer day, reason represents and pays down in hand. Let us therefore, as it is the property of Art, follow the steps of nature. When by little and little the grief of mind departeth, there is for the most part no change in the thing it self, yea, the incommodity that was, often becomes greater, as when he that hath lost a friend or wife declines to old age, wherein he hath most need of helps. Whence then arises that calm in a mind so much troubled before? Truly hence, the appearance of the thing that causeth sorrow is more seldom in the eye of the mind; it slides by, not sticks, it touches, doth not press or pierce the mind, and at last it doth not so much as touch it. Consider now whether every one be not able speedily to cure himself and hasten his own enjoyment of so great a good. Most of us not only suffer, but create our sorrow, whilest

whilst we yield our selves to sudden cogitations ; in mourning especially, where the vexation flatters us under a shew of piety. Those sad thoughts we cherish carefully, and to our own hurt patronize, doing like them that seek for glasses, which represent bodies greater then they are. Surely, the will of man, that hath such force to hurt himself, might do some-what, if it pleased, for his own ease That sorrow is an enemy to us, we cannot deny. The leanness of an exhausted body, paleness of countenance, dejection of mind (causes of grief for the most part more just than that for which we grieve) shew it to be an enemy. In the dealing with an enemy, what are we wont to do ? If he be strong and at the first on-set violent, whilst your forces are not yet come together ; the first caution is, to decline the bat-tel : afterward, when you are assured and confident in your strength ; you shall march into the field and display your colours. Even so the appearance of your loss being fresh, and your mind tender, it is best to bend your thoughts another way. None may do it more easily ; excellent Sir, then you, who need not seek for employment, you have in your charge
affairs

affairs of so great weight and labour; that they may verily take up all your thoughts. The King whom you serve, the greatest and most Christian, the difficult times, the many and various businesses of your Office, what else do they all say unto you, but, *Attend your work, you are not at leisure to be a Mourner*. Most true is that old saying, *The mind is prevalent, where you put it forth and use it*, Certainly it is there to be used, where our labour may be to good purpose; that is, not in mourning, but in the service of your King and Country. It is no more then ordinary common sense which the Greek Poet hath adorned with elegant expressions to this effect;

*If ills were cured by our weeping eyes,
And tears could wash away our miseries,
Thy tears were worth gold: which I now
must blame,*

For weep, or weep not, evils are the same.
I know that, said Solon, and I weep the more, because I can do no good by weeping. This very foolish saying of so wise a man may be an example to us, how much sorrow darkneth the judgement, that made Solon himself to speak unwisely, For in those things wherein care and industry is of any force (among which things

things sorrow is one, as we have said) we must observe, not whence the passion comes, but whether it goes. 'Tis the office of reason to look forward, not backward. Wherefore he that doth any thing ought often to put the question to himself, why do I do this? What do I hope? What do I desire? This if one ask himself who cherisheth his grief and endeavoureth not to correct it, he shall see how nothing can be answered.

But you may object, it is hard and inhumane to expel out of your heart the thought of her you lov'd so dearly and so deservedly, not less for her vertues, then because she was your wife. Remember, 'tis required but for a time, and, as in a labyrinth, this way leads you to a place contrary unto it. So doth a short abstinence conduce to the better concoction and digestion of the food you shall eat. I would have her live in your thoughts perpetually, but so that the memory of her may delight, not torment you. 'Tis an injury to her, when she is called into your mind to create her husband sorrow. Let her come then, when she may come, in the quality she was wont to come, fair, kind, and cheerful. This image of her, which now occurs to your mind,

mind, sorrowful, and leaving a troublesome remembrance of her, is false and resembles her not. I do now fore-see the time, when that sweetness of manners, that love and reverence of you, that unwearied care in the good education of her children, that sincere piety towards God, and whatsoever in many of that sex is wanting, in some few is most praise-worthy, will offer it self to your mind, not onely without danger, but with much sense of joy: when it will delight you to remember her; and to set before your childrens eyes all her actions as the best Samplar for their life. Only for a little while put by the thought of her which you shall afterward resume with advantage. To this end, as I was saying, will avail these many weighty affairs, which being enough to oppress another, sit lightly upon you. Now is the time, if ever, to be immersed in publick cares, & suffer no room at all in the mind to be unpossessed. Nor are the conferences of friends unprofitable, provided they be men of courage and wisdom, not such as commend themselves by the imitation of your sadness. Confer with the dead also, and turn over Books with greater diligence now then ever, and let that

K

which

which was but your recreation before, now become a part of your labour. Books will not only give you a safe retreat from the enemies fury, but arms also against the enemy. For whether you contemplate with your most capacious soul the nature of things, you will see how nothing is without the empire of death, no not the elements themselves : It is the most universal law, which condemns every thing that is born, to dye ; and it were great ignorance to think one person can be exempted from the common ruin : Or, whether you turn to the morals, among that fair company of virtues, you shall behold *Fortitude* of a firm body, a head lifted up, a chearful countenance, but among the vices *Sorrow*, macilent, pale, of a cloudy brow, and down cast looks: Or, whether you search the *Annals*, you shall find examples of men, who have born the deaths of Parents, Children, Wives, with a mind lesse mov'd than ours is at the reading of the story. Now, having by these Arts escaped the dangers of the first time, and withal gotten strength, let the soul at length come forth into the field, as it were, and prepare to fight.

But here also I think it fit to imitate
wise

wife Commanders, who, as much as they can, sever the enemies forces, that fighting with the several parties, they may more easily conquer all. Mourning is a confused thing, it objects unto the mind many things at once, and in a heap, which being joyned terrifie, but vanish being divided. All the assaults it makes against you, are either in respect of Her whom you lament, or of your self the Mourner, or of your children, with whom and for whom you mourn. Weigh these particulars severally, you will find partly that there is no cause of grief, partly that the incommodity is much over-balanced by greater good. I will begin with Her. It is in all mens mouths, which we read every where in Christian Writers, but in *Antiphanes* too (which you may more admire) a Heathen Poet, speaking in words of this sense.

*Lament your friends with sorrow moderate
They are not lost, but gone before, where fate
Disposeth all: And we, in order must
One after one be turn'd to the same dust;
We meet at the same Inn by several wayes,
And in another world shall see new dayes.*

We must dwell the longer upon this place, because it alone without the rest, if it be rightly considered, is sufficient for

consolation, I would not have any credit given me without a most competent witness, the Doctor of the Gentiles, the Founder of Churches, called to be an Apostle by a voice from heaven; who being indued also with humane learning, all other arguments omitted, checks the immodesty of sorrow with this alone: *I would not have you ignorant, Brethren, concerning them that are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them that are asleep will God bring with him.* It is the manner of Epistles to deliver in short that which familiar discourse doth express more liberally. But if *Paul*, as it is believed, after he wrote this, visited his Disciples of *Macedon* again, he might haply prosecute this most wholesome point more at large after this sort: Friends, whom nature hath made of the same kind with us, and the Word of God hath new made and raised to the same Grace; ye know it is our duty thoroughly to purge out whatsoever old corruption remaineth in you; your countenance, your habit & gesture speak you to be much and long grieved in mind, if any of your dearest Relatives be taken

out

out of your sight: Nor is it any marvel, for thus did your fathers, & thus do the people with whom you live intermixed: Great is the power of a vice commended by the authority of parents, and the diseases which have seized, not upon single persons, but whole Nations, are very contagious: but you must remember to what Institution you have given your name: in your baptism, when the washing of your body figured the cleanness of mind, I received your vow to forsake the world. Peace with God is not bought at any cheaper rate. We have doctrines, we have also rites which separate us from the world, & make us a people different from all the rest of mankind: Even our words are not the same, whom they call dead, we say are fallen asleep: So are we taught to speak by him that is not only the Master of life, but speech. What is the meaning of that new word? That sleep is the image of death, even the Poets of the *Grecians* and their Philosophers have delivered; but with them the similitude holds] not, which with us is most exact. By motion and action we understand life: there is a defect of these when the body is tied up with the bonds of sleep, and lies as it were buried: when

— the morning Sun hath driven away the night, that vigour that was not lost, but intermitted, returns again : mean-while, the soul which hath a power not depending on the body, performing the offices of both times, perpetuates her action ; So when the term of mortal life is come, the body lies torpid and un-active, whether it retain as yet the shape it had immediately before, or else hath rendred its parts unto the original dust. But wait until the great day shine forth, there it will appear, the body rested for a time, which seemed lost. In the meantime, that part which is invisible keeps possession of life in behalf of the whole man. Compare with this our faith, what others running into so many by-ways do conceive: when in very many and the greatest things their opinions differ, in this almost alone they agree, that they are without hope of life ever to return unto the body, and therefore deprive man of his immortality. For man is a body animate, not a soul without a body, nor a body without a soul. The soul it self departed from the body, many of them either think to be annihilated, or at least not to retain the state of its own substance. So the whole man, to them, is destroyed without hope of restitution,

tution, as appears by those very consolations which they apply to mourners. For they say, Dead men indeed have no good; but neither have they any ill. Now although the opinion of these men is hard, yet theirs is much harder who make the soul outlive the body. For that lower place which they wil have to bethe common seat of souls gone out of the body, they describe as a wild place, horrid and dark, and of such a condition, that one would die another death to get out of it. Moreover, which is worst of all, They to whom other punishments are remitted are (according to this opinion) everlastingly under this torment, a vain & never satisfied desire of returning back again to their former life. If some few among those men have any better conjectures, they doubt and fluctuate more like to those that wish than affirm. But ye have learned among the elements of our doctrine, that life remains in the soul, and shall be restored to the body. That which is the consummation of our desires, concludes the *formula* in our holy initiation. For being asked whether ye believed the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting, ye answered every one before God and his Church, that ye

did believe. Upon this *formula* the confession that you made I now treat with you: but is not sufficient to give a light assent, that perswasion must be firmly rooted in your minds, so shall it bring forth mature, fair, & lasting fruits. Much will avail to this purpose, the attent meditation of those Arguments by which you were induced to subscribe to this Faith. We caught you not by the affected ornaments of humane eloquence, nor did we by a long chain of consequences entangle the minds of the more ignorant; but we brought the business to that which is common to men and women, learned and unlearned, young and old, and which is accounted the greatest assurance of all, even to Judgement of sense. The most famous enquirer into nature among the *Grecians*; gives this reason why we have not the knowledge of many things; because we can neither see them with our eyes, nor touch them with our hands: by which way things are wont to come unto the understanding. God hath excluded us from this excuse and pretence for our ignorance. He hath presented to our hands and eyes a *specimen* and pledge of what we hope for. That Jesus Christ the Author of
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our faith was nailed to the Cross, and died on the Cross, all *Jerusalem* saw, the Senate saw, the Roman Band saw it with their eyes, and also that multitude of strangers wherewith that great City was then filled. That he was buried and lay in the Sepulcher two whole nights, and the day interposed, is manifest, both by the declaration of the Seal, & by the testimony of the watch. So far we and our adversaries are agreed. This same Jesus after that time women saw living again. his followers also saw him, both severally, and all the eleven together, at divers times; There were some also that handled his hands and side. That nothing might be wanting to make faith complete, He shewed himself to be seen and heard by five hundred witnesses at once, who in good part are living & do testify the same. To come unto my self, I have seen him shining with divine Majesty, & by his immediate authority was converted, & vowed to be his servant whom before I had persecuted. And can any one yet be doubtful? Certainly, never did any equal Judge reject so many witnesses, men of integrity, and such as had no temptation to make a lie. This testimony is so far from being gainful to,

us, that we must pay for it with the losse of all things, for the saving whereof, lies are wont to be invented. Therefore do we incur the hatred even of our nearest Relatives; we are dispossessed of our Estates, we are banished from our Country, we are in hazard of our life every day. No man at so dear a rate doth buy the pleasure of deceiving another. Now if our testimony be received by a most evident example, it is manifest that God can restore life to a dead body. And by the same Argument it is evinced, that this shall be done for all the Disciples of Christs institution, if that be certain, which was certainly heard by many thousands, that Christ hath promised it. For the Resurrection of our bodies is assured by Christs testimony, the veracity of Christ is witnessed by his Resurrection. Neither could it stand with the equity of God to give that honour to one that spake not the truth, especially when himself before the event had set it for a sign: Wherefore believe us, that Christ is risen; and believe Christ, that all shall rise to immortal blessednesse and blessed immortality who die his Disciples. He shall present us to the Father, who hath once obtained such grace with the Father,

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ther, that no request of his can ever be in vain : He shall make us partakers of his glory, and bring us into those places, where dwells an undisturbed peace; where neither diseases shall approach the body, nor vices have access unto the mind; where shall be life without fear of death, and joyes without mixture of sorrow. Some taste of this Supper have the souls already, that are departed hence in the faith of Christ, in most sweet Tranquillity, waiting for the consummation of their felicity, together with the bodies. He that heartily believes these things, must needs be so far from lamenting, that he will congratulate their happy condition, whom he hath sent away before him to the enjoyment of our common hopes. For in a true judgement they are not dead, but freed now at last from their mortality. This place of *Paul* hath carried me farther than I intended, whilst I endeavour to examine every one of his words, and the force of them. For I am assured there can be no better remedy applied to sorrow, than that which the great Physician of souls among the infinite treasures of saving Wisdome hath brought down from Heaven. And yet; how many things have I omitted, which might

might be drawn from the same fountain? But those considerations that we have deduced thence, if they be taken to heart, & received thorowly, will be sufficient. Believe it. excellent Sir, as if you saw it, the soul of your wife for many reasons most beloved, begins already to enjoy the sweet fruits of her vertues, & tasteth the reward promised to sincere piety. The end and consummation of so many ages, when she shall be wholly restored to her self; that immense accumulation of all good things, to which all that can be imagined is far inferiour, is not expected afar off, as by us, but look upon by her at the nearest distance. What she hath in possession is so great, that she wanteth nothing; & yet that is more which she seeth she shall possess. Nor have you any reason to say, She might have stayed longer before she went thither. Time is some advantage, & it is a great felicity to be quickly happy. How many evils, partly certain, partly uncertain, doth he escape who is called hence betimes? how many are the examples of men that have paid dear for the lengthening of their life? I might here relate the torments of diseases, & the affronts of fortune never more to be feared then when she flattereth,

eth, and the incommodities of old age which every man that lives long shall be sure of. This one thing seemeth to me a sufficient benefit of an early death, to be put out of danger of sinning any more. It remains that you say, I am not sorry for her sake, but my own : And to this I was now coming, for that is wont to be said; but how unjustly, any one may easily understand whose ejulations have not made him deaf to the voice of reason. He that flies to this refuge manifestly shews himself an offender against the laws of friendship. For they that fetcht the original of frindship from indigence, were entertained with the hisses of almost all Philosophers; nor among the common people, whose manner is to measure most things by profit, could they make good their cause. In friendship, the affection goes abroad, and without self respect, seeks the good of another. Applauses fill the Theatre, as oft as any *Pilades* derives upon himself the dangers of *Orestes* ; so prone is the consent of men to esteem it the office of a friend, in an equal matter to prefer his friends safety before his own. How much more ought the sense of our own incommodity and loss be swallowed up by the felicity of one we profess
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to love; when we consider, here is much more of good than there of evil. *Zopyrus* is commended in the story because he cut and dismembred his own body, to the end his King might obtain a great, yet but one City. In this case there was some comparison: but in yours, if in the one scale you put your wife advanced to the very gates of Eternity, enjoying the society of Christ and the blessed souls, free from every thing that may occasion either grief or fear; in the other scale place your self, destitute of those commodities which a happy matrimony prolonged for some more years might add unto you, there will be found no weight in your part of the ballance, the beam will not stand at all, but speedily turn with the great weight on the other side, as if on yours were nothing. What if I acquit you from this comparison, and convince you that your incommodities weighed by themselves are nothing really, but only in opinion? For wherein is he more unhappy who hath lost a wife, than he who never had one? In opinion there is some difference, for the memory of the thing once possessed represents the image, the image excites the desire: but this is the judgment of the lower bench, we may appeal. Let your Reason

Reason aided by so much experience, and instructed by so much reading, sit in the Judgement-seat and pronounce the sentence. That which is past, is not; and therefore can have no efficiency: nothing is ours, but whilest we have it; afterward it pertains no more unto us, than that which is farthest from us. Really then, He that never had, and he that now hath not, are in the like case; but that he seems the more ingrateful, who from the benefit he once enjoy'd takes an occasion to complain. Would you therefore see, how not miserable you are? Look upon so many thousands of men, who to their last years have willingly and by their own choice lived a single life: in which number are many learned men, pious, prudent, and such as were not ignorant either of the good or evil wherewith married men are attended. Wives are helps & comforts to their husbands, but they must be likewise helped and comforted. And if the burden be equally divided, there is no more in one whole burden, than in half of that which is double to it. Such is the nature of the contract, that it layes the harder bond upon the men, to whose protection the infirmer sex commends it self. One in the Greek Comedy, if God should offer

offer him a double body, saith he would refuse the favour ; his reason is, because with multiplicity of his parts his care would be multiplied. It is indeed a pleasant thing in prosperity to have one to whom you may do good : but the more favourably fortune fills your sails, the more you must contract them, and take heed lest even in the greatest innocence your behaviour give colour and occasion unto Calumny, which doth closely pursue men of higher fortunes. If any adversity befall you, it is true the wife partakes of the sorrow, but it returns and lies heavier upon the husband: as the rayes of the Sun reflected from the ground do the more inflame the air. The Grief derived from a dear person whom you behold grieving for you, is more grievous than the primitive. I alledge not these things as if I had undertaken the *Encomium* of a single life : it is enough for me to shew, that seeing either life hath its commodities, tempered and mixt with their incommo-
dities, it becomes every one with an equal and indifferent mind, to conform himself to that lot and condition that hath befallen him. The last pretence of grief is the most specious, in respect of children whose education, when the care is
divided

divided between the two parents, proceeds the better. This is somewhat, but herein hath God abundantly provided for you. You are a man of un-wearied vigor; & if you please to use your whole strength, able to supply the place of both sexes. Cut off from your businesses and studies so much as that charge requires; yea, think that charge to be the best study and business. Matters of most consequence execute your self, the lesser commit to others: and as oft as you can, visit your sweet children with your paternal eye, now also serving for the maternal. And look upon the great supporters of your House, your most gracious King, by whom your diligence and trust are well tried, and therefore well esteemed; Your Honorable employment, your estate virtuously acquired your kindred, alliance, friends, flourishing and prosperous. You see if any accession shal be made unto your labour, how great comforts are given you afore-hand. Moreover, that very labour will decrease under your hand, when, as every one of your children shall ripen in years, so he will succeed into the care both of himself and the rest. But how little of justice there is in your complaint of this burthen you may even hereby understand. Had your
Wife

Wife left you a house empty of children, I believe as the custome is, you would say,

O hadst thou left some might me Father call;

O for one child to play about my Hall.

But had some Prophet fore-told before your marriage day. You shall, for many years have a happy and peaceable enjoyment of your wife, only you know one of you must needs out-live the other: this indulgence shall be yielded to the more tender sex, that she may not mourn for you. Choose whether you please, by her and after her to be called Father, or no. You would have answered, I doubt not, Let me have, when I can have her no longer, O let me have some living images of her, and successors of our common fortunes.

Riches then unhappy are,

When they do not find an heir.

Well then, what is it that compels you, or I may say, permits you to grieve? Your wife? But she is blessed. A widowers state which is imposed on you? The single life hath adventured at all times to compare it self with wedlock, in point of felicity. Children? You would not be without them; if you were

were childlesse, you would be more sorrowful. And do you now grieve because you are not childlesse? It is great morosity, to accuse and complain of every fortune. But if this discourse may seem too rigid and severe, I will be a little more remisse, and grant that some adversity is befallen you; yet will I thereby evince, that you have reason to rejoyce. That the power and the wisdom of God are unlimited, we do all acknowledge. Hence it follows, nothing can happen without his knowledge who is omniscient, without his permission who is omnipotent. Whatsoever he either doth or permitteth, he hath good reason for it, God hath care of all things, but not equally, because they are not equal. According to the severall degrees of things, there be degrees of Providence. He governs with a more careful hand the affairs of men, than of inferiour creatures. And among all mankind, he hath a nearer inspection over Kings, and other Rulers of the Nations, who are, as it were, earthly starrs, from whose influence either the tempests of warre; or the calms of peace descend upon the people. But above all, most dear unto that supream Goodnesse,
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are faithfull Christians. The divine pleasure is, that Kingdoms themselves should be serviceable to them : and in all constitutions through the whole world, they are favoured with a singular respect. Therefore, even those things are for them, which seem against them : according to that immutable decree, *All things fall out for the best to those that purely worship God.* Nor may we wonder, if God keeps them not delicately but under discipline. This is a fathers part. Either they must be purged by some sharp and nimble medicine, if they have contracted any contagion from the multitude with whom they converse; or, before the disease take hold upon them, the souls health must be preserved by some wholesome, though bitter potion; or else, the soldier of God is to be proved by encountering with an enemy, that himself may perceive, and others may not be ignorant what a proficient he is. Matters of difficulty are provided for the exercise and illustration of every vertue. God hath alwayes set godly men to such a task : but he justly exacteth more from Christian men, who by the very ensign of the Cross are given to understand,

stand, upon what terms they are admitted into service. The chief Captain himself having made his way to heaven by patience, and struggled through many sufferings, hath consecrated the same way for us. The souldier that is not called forth into any danger, may fear, his Commander holds him in small esteem. And who would not courageously descend into that combate, wherein there is a certain reward for him that conquers, and certain conquest for him that fights? For he that is the Rewarder, is also a Helper, he shews the crown, he supplieth arms. Nor need we excuse our selves by pretence of weaknesse. The most equal Arbiter and Judge of the field, doth so fitly match every combatant, that he calleth forth none to fight, but whom he knows able or will make so. He can no more deny his heavenly aid to the man that prayes aright, than a loving and wealthy father can deny bread to his son, that asketh it when he is hungry. How many of the old Philosophers, how many also of a lower rank, having but ordinary encouragements and supports, have subdued Sorrow? and shall we, who are neither destitute of the use of reason, nor of the succors of good learning, and besides
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are assured of that excellent and peculiar aid from heaven, turn our back and yield to any calamity how great soever? That can become no man, and you least of all, most honoured Sir; you are advanced to an eminent place, where you shine both by your own light, and by that which you borrow from the Majesty of your King. Whatsoever you do is conspicuous, and goes into example. Let it be hereafter said; Bear your wifes death as *Maurier* did. Nor may you fear being suspected for to have loved your wife lesse, if you mourn lesse. Keep her vertues in your memory, deliver them to your children, and as you can by ingenious and glorious monuments propagate them to posterity. These are truer Tokens of your love, than to do what she would not have you. Among all Nations the Wills of the deceased are sacred and inviolate, and not only such as are declared in word, or committed to writing, but also if by probable arguments we can conjecture what their wills were. You are not ignorant what her will was, and what she desires now, if in that place of rest there be any care of our affairs; to wit, that you may pass the remainder of your life with greatest felicity, and never think on
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her but with a quiet, and (if it may be) a joyful mind. The same you must suppose to be the Kings pleasure, whom it concerns, that both in body and mind you may be strong and healthy. To add any more might seem to proceed from a diffidence of your wisdom and courage. What I have said, how much better could you say to your self? and so, I hope, you have done. It would be a joy to me to have performed my duty, and that you needed it not. Nor will it be unpleasaut to you, to be assured of your friends fidelity by the succours offered, although your victory atchieved, sooner than was hoped, hath made them of no use.

Lupisten, 11. Calend.

Mar. An. 1621.

THE END.
